THE TAMILIAN ANTIQUARY

Editor

PANDIT D. SAVARIROYAN

THE TAMILIAN ANTIQUARY

The Tamilian Antiquary.

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THE CHOLAS AND THEIR COINAGE

BY

DIWAN BAHADUR T. DESIKACHARI, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

CENTURIES before the Christian era, the Cholas had established themselves on the coast of Coromandel (Chola mandalam) and enjoyed a civilization not less advanced than that of the Aryan Settlements in the North. They were referred to along with the Keralas and the Pandyas in the Second Rock Edict of the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, in the third century B.C. The great chronicle of Ceylon, an ancient work in Pali called the Mahavanso, made it the theme of one of its main episodes, the war waged against the Island by the Chola Tamils in the early centuries preceding the Christian era.

Some scholars have advanced the hypothesis that it was a colony of Dravidian merchants who, becoming acquainted with an alphabetic writing derived from the white Pre-Semetic Akkadians north of the Euphrates Valley, brought the script to India, being thus the first to introduce the art of writing into Dravida Desam. There is in the proof that is adduced in support of this hypothesis much that tends to show that the Tamils, as early as the seventh century before the Christian era, had developed such a degree of maritime and commercial enterprise as to tempt them to undertake voyages across the sea to distant countries. The principal port of the Cholas was Kaveripaddinam, situated near the northern mouth of the Kaveri.

The first capital of the Cholas was Uraiyur. probably the oldest portion of the modern Trichinopoly; and later on they ruled from their capital Jayam-Koṇḍa-Cholapuram, in the Udaiyarpalayam Taluq of the Trichinopoly District, the relics of whose greatness are still to be seen in an embankment, many miles long, of a ruined reservoir, probably one of the largest in India, and a temple which, even in its present neglected condition, attests to its once magnificent proportions and costly Dravidian architecture. Other places there are too in the same District, which remind us by their names of these ancient rulers, such as Gangai-Koṇḍa-Cholapuram and Gandarāditṭam. As the Chola kings grew in power they had their capitals Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Conjivaram and their Viceroys in Rajahmundry in the north and Madura in the South. It is interesting to note that when Samudragupta raided the South about 340 A.D., a Pallava ruled at Kanchi.

In addition to the notice of their existence in the Asoka Edicts and the Mahavanso, before the Christian era, we find allusions to the Cholas, in the Periplus Maris Erithræ in the first century, in Ptolemy's Geography in the second century, in the travels of Hiun Thsang in the seventh century and in the travels of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Beyond references to the existence of the Cholas as a ruling power there is nothing in these contemporary records that could help us in the construction of a connected Chola History. Nor do we derive substantial aid from Sanskrit or Tamil writings, which give conflicting accounts the accuracy of which has yet to be confirmed by lithic records which however have so far not taken us earlier than the eighth century A.D. We, no doubt, now and then meet with in the indigenous literature names like Kòchengannán and Karikâla. Of these, the latter is reputed to have built the Kaveri embankments, employed forced labour paying them with leather money, thus invoking the anger of the Gods and a dust-storm which destroyed his capital, and probably ruled in the second century of the Christian era. The same name is

also mentioned as that of the persecutor of the great Vaishnavite Reformer, Ramanujacharya, who had to flee out of the Chola kingdom and take refuge with the King Vishnu Vardhana. But all these sovereigns have yet to be allotted their proper places in Chola genealogy. The Chola inscriptions and coins which have hitherto come to light relate to a period between the ninth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, during which the Cholas rose into great prominence and finally declined, leaving only the numerous South Indian Temples, inscriptions and coins to attest to their greatness. Inscriptions are, however, not wanting to show that the Cholas were a power to be reckoned with even anterior to the eighth century of the Christian era. During the supremacy of that strange race, the Pallavas, the Cholas seem to have occupied but a subordinate position, but had never lost their native virility or a good portion of their inherited dominions.

It is when the history of the Pandyan kings becomes intimately connected with that of the Chola and Sinhalese sovereigns that we begin to have the help of Epigraphy and Numismatics. It is then too that the account in the Mahavanso of the inroads of the Tamils into the island of Ceylon and of the reprisals of the Sinhalese on the mainland come to be matter of lithic record.

Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era the Chola kings, with varying success, attempted to maintain their supremacy over the whole of the Southern Presidency. In order to understand the coins of this period, it is necessary to bear in mind who were the contemporary kings that ruled in different portions of the country over which the Cholas struggled for predominence. There were the Chalukyas of Rajahmundry in the north and the Pallavas who had ruled on the Coromandel coast with Kanchipuram as their capital. From Nellore and the Ghauts to the sea, was the ancient Dravida Desam, or the land of the Tamils, of which the northern

portion the Chola Desam, extended from the Kaveri to the Palar; from the Kaveri to Comorin was the Pandya country; and the Chera country comprised all the territory westward as far as the sea. Another race of kings playing a prominent part in the Chola history of this period are the Gangas, who ruled probably from Mukkalingam near Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District. And if to these be added the Sinhalese sovereigns who governed the Island of Ceylon, during the time of the Chola ascendancy in the mainland and the King of Pegu, the tale of sovereignties, with the conquest of which the Chola history mainly deals, would be almost complete.

A fairly reliable genealogy of the Chola soveriegns of this period is now available. Parantaka ruled from A.D. 907 to 949, from Uraiyur and was known as 'Madurantaka' and 'Vira Narayana.' The Jains were numerically strong during his reign but he is also reputed to have built the Kanaka Sabha or the Golden Hall of the Chidambaram Temple, a meritorious act of devotion to Siva, to which more than one Chola sovereign lays claim. No coins of the king have been yet found.

After Parantaka (whose accession was in A.D. 907 and death in A.D. 949) till we come to the time of his great grandson Raja Raja, who ascended the throne in A.D. 985, we meet with the name of no remarkable Chola king. 'Certain inscriptions of Parantaka are of special interest to the student of village institutions by reason of the full details they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well organised local committees, or Panchayats exercising administrative and judicial control under royal sanction.' The immediate predecessor of Raja Raja, was the grandson of Parantaka and the son of Gandaraditya. He assumed the title of *Madurantaka* and was known as Uttama Chola. To this monarch must be assigned, one of the two varieties of coins, bearing the legend 'Uttama Chola' in Grandha characters, and having a seated tiger with a fish

in front of it, the tiger being the dynastic emblem of the Cholas and the fish that of the Pandyas. It was not unnatural that the king who assumed the name 'Madurantaka' 'conqueror of the Pandyan capital Madura,' should adopt on his coins the Pandyan emblem of the fish in token of his sovereignty over the Pandyan country. The other coin of Uttama Chola has the Chera emblem, the bow, in addition to the fish and the tiger and has the legend in Devanagari characters and this coin has to be attributed to a later reign, that of Rajendra I, whose coins bearing the same emblems have the legend in Nagari, 'Sri Rajendrah.' There has always been a tendency in the Dravida country to pay increasing deference to the classical language, Sanskrit; and the period of the currency of the two coins above noticed could be determined by the change (from the Grandha to the Devanagari) in the characters used in inscribing the legend on the coins.

One unique specimen has the legend in old Tamil 'Avanipa Sekaran Cholaha,' with two fishes on the obverse, but without any symbol to indicate that it had a Chola origin. In the Indian Antiquary for 1892, Dr. Hultzsch read the legend as 'Avanipa Sekaran Golaga,' and interpreted it to mean the round coin of 'Avanipa Sekaran,' but he was not quite certain of his reading. The absence of the dynastic emblem of the tiger is not peculiar to this coin alone, for, as will be presently pointed out, many of the coins of Raja Raja do not bear that emblem. It is not improbable that imitating the pronunciation of the Sanskrit 'Cholah' an attempt was made to transcribe the word in Tamil, in order that the legend might sound quite classical. It was unnecessary to show on the coin the Chola's dynastic emblem when the name of the king himself was given, while the two fishes on the obverse, indicated his supremacy in the Pandyan and Chola territories. On the other hand reading the legend as 'Golaga' and interpreting it as a 'round coin'

would lead to the assumption that the perfectly superfluous information that the coin was round in shape, was conveyed by the legend, when the roundness of the coin was an obvious index of its shape. And the term 'gola' was itself one which could not have been paraded by a supreme sovereign having regard to its opprobrious significance in the Hindu Law.

After Madurantaka *alias* Uttama Chola, came by far the greatest of the Chola kings, Raja Raja I, *alias* Raja Kesari Varma who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. He maintained a large standing army of well disciplined body-guards, foot soldiers and archers, that was ever in readiness for active service, and with the aid of his valiant troops he quelled the rebellion of Kandalur Salai, subdued the Vengi and Ganga countries, defeated and humbled the Chalukyas, deprived the Pandyas of their splendour, took Ceylon and so distinguished himself. We read in one of his inscriptions, that he was worthy of worship everywhere. From 1001 A.D., he sheathed his sword and cultivated the arts of peace. When he ascended the throne, the Chola kingdom hardly comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and a portion of the district of Coimbatore Before he died, he had destroyed the Chera fleet, his power extended over the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras, part of Mysore, the Island of Ceylon, the Laccadives and the Maldives. It was he who built the Brihatiswara Temple at Tanjore one of the grandest specimens of Dravidian architecture in Southern India.

Though a great Saiva devotee he seems to have been tolerant of other sects and creeds. A set of twenty one copper plates, preserved now in the University Museum in Leyden in Holland, hence known as the Leyden Grant, records the interesting fact that he granted a village to a Buddhist Vihara at Negapatam, a monastery which was probably on the site of the present St. Joseph's buildings in that town.

The regulations for the levy of taxes and the minuteness with which the land measurements were made indicate

the great care bestowed by Raja Raja in the administration of the large empire which he had built up during his reign. From 1011 A.D. his son Rajendra ruled the country along with the father as heir apparent.

The coins of Raja Raja also attest to the extent of his dominions and the length and prosperity of his rule, and throughout the Madras Presidency, we meet with his *copper kasu* in large numbers. Every itinerant pedlar who barters pepper, turmeric and spices for old copper is able to get together, after a week's labour, a large number of these specimens current more than nine hundred years ago. The commonest of these bear on their obverse a standing human figure clad in regal robes, and on the reverse the same figure seated, with the legend in Devanagari characters, 'Raja Raja' under the right arm. Coins with similar devices and legend occur also, but more rarely, in silver and gold.

The Chola emblem, generally found on seals, is a seated tiger; on the coins of the later Chola sovereigns, the figure of the seated tiger is found flanked by the fish, the Pandyan emblem and the bow, the Chera emblem. Yet this characteristic Chola device of the tiger is not generally to be found on the coins of Raja Raja. The only known instance in which the dynastic device is figured on his issues is a coin in impure silver, on the obverse of which is the typical squatting human figure above referred to with a seated tiger flanked by lamps and surmounted by a parasol, with on the reverse the seated tiger, the fish and the bow respectively, the Chola, Pandya and Chera emblems. On the other hand, the standing and seated human figures adverted to already are familiar symbols of the Sinhalese sovereigns of Ceylon, so much so that Raja Raja's coins are usually referred to as those of the Ceylon type. The adoption of this Ceylon type by Raja Raja, the greatest monarch of his age, must be of real significance. Might it not be that, to commemorate his victory over the king of Ceylon, and publish his supremacy

in countries even beyond the seas, the device of the Sinhalese was adopted by their conqueror, the great Raja Raja Chola, just as the fish of the Pandya and the bow of the Chera were adopted to proclaim that he was a *Mummudi* Chola, or the Chola with the three crowns? Coins too are not uncommon on which the legend 'Raja Raja' appears along with the Pandyan emblem, the fish, and the Chalukyan emblem, the boar. The former coin has on the reverse also the legend 'Sekhara' written twice. The two gold pieces in plate VI, of distinctly Sinhalese type with the legends Lankêsvara and Raja Raja, were probably issued by this ambitious monarch in Ceylon after his conquest of the Island. At a later age Lankapura Dandanadha issued the Kahapanas of Ceylon after humbling the Pandyas, thus, history having its tale of reprisals and repetitions.

Others there are attributable to this Chola king which bear distinctly Vaishnavite emblems such as the 'Vishnupāda', or feet of Vishnu, or the figure of Krishna as Muralidhara (the flute player,) familiar objects of worship among the Vaishnava sect. This fact is another instance of the king's religious toleration which made him endow a Buddhist monastery, and a Siva temple at about the same time.

In still other specimens bearing the legend Raja Raja, there is on the obverse the representation of a gallopping horseman, but the significance of this symbol it is not yet possible to definitely determine.

This diversity in the types of the coinage of Raja Raja tempts one to incline to the theory that the difference in type was the consequence of more than one prince of the same name having issued coins bearing the legend, Raja Raja. There was indeed more than one prince of the Chola kingdom bearing that name, but none so powerful or prosperous as the king who built the temple of Tanjore. It is therefore probable that the king when he conquered the Pandyas, ordered

the fish emblems to be placed on the coins struck immediately after the victorious event, and a similar occasion might have prompted the adoption of the Chalukya and Simhalese devices, while the occurrence of Vaishnava and Saiva emblems alike on his issues serves to emphasize the extremely tolerant spirit that allowed of Vaishnava sculptures being wrought in the tower of the great Saiva Temple of Tanjore.

Rajendra succeeded his father Raja Raja in 1011 A.D. and vanquishing the Ganga prince after a sanguinary war, assumed the surname of Gangai Konda Chola. Like his father, he was ceaseless in activity in humbling his rivals and annexing their dominions and making the Chola rule steadfast from Kalinga in the north to Kumari in the south. He it was who probably built the temple and settled in the place called after him, Gagaikonda Cholapuram, in the Wodaiyarpalayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. Like his father he took delight in parading in his inscriptions what was very likely a fact that he had humbled the Pandyas and Cheras. During his reign another intermarriage with the Chalukyas of Vengi served to further cement the relationship first brought about by the marriage of Raja Raja's daughter to a Chalukya prince.

The coins of Gangai Konda Chola have the same devices both on the obverse and the reverse. 'In the centre is a seated tiger, the emblem of the Chola king, facing the right, with two fishes, the emblem of the Pandyan king in front, and a bow the emblem of the Chera king behind, the whole group flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two chowries.' Underneath is the legend in Nagari 'Gangaikonda Chola' in two lines. The Collector of South Indian coins comes across now and then two other coins, one bearing the legend 'Sri Rajendra' and the other legend 'Uttama Chola' in Nagari characters both of the same type as the coins bearing the legend 'Gangaikonda Chola' already noticed. The first of these was evidently issued

before the conquest of the Ganga country by Parakesari Varman, *alias* Rajendra Deva and the latter seems to have been issued when he assumed the surname Uttama Chola whenever that might have been. As already pointed out the title Uttama Chola was also assumed by Madurantaka, son of Gandaraditya, and the predecessor of Raja Raja.

In the first half of the eleventh century five kings ruled between the time of Gangaikonda Chola and that of Kulôttunga Chola who ascended the throne in A.D. 1070. They all recount in their inscriptions in high sounding terms their warlike exploits and conquests over the neighbouring kingdoms. But there is a blank in the coinage of this period and no coins of these five sovereigns have hitherto beer discovered.

In 1071 A.D. the daughter's son of Rajendra Chola, who was ruling from 1061 in Vengi or the Chalukya country usurped the Chola throne. He assumed the name, 'Kulôttunga Chola' and ruled over the southern country for nearly half a century. He had had been adopted by Rajendra *alias* Gangaikonda Chola as heir apparent to the throne, but only succeeded in obtaining the sovereignty by force in the year 1070 A.D., some nine years after he had become ruler of Vengi. The province of Vengi was thereafter entrusted by him to his uncle first, and then to his sons, one of whom Vira Chola assumed the office of Viceroy in 1078 A.D.

Kulôttunga I conquered the Kerala, Pandya, and Kuntala countries and was anointed in the Chola kingdom as Kulôttunga Chola Deva. It is not possible without encroaching much on the reader's time, to recount the doings of Kulôttunga during a long reign. One remarkable title of his however cannot be omitted. He was quite as just as he was valiant and being struck with the oppressive character of the numerous tolls and taxes till then levied and under the weight which his people were groaning, he abolished the tolls altogether thus gaining the name of *Sungam tavirta* Kulôttunga

THE CHOLAS AND THEIR COINAGE

BY

DIWAN BAHADUR T. DESIKACHARI, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

CENTURIES before the Christian era, the Cholas had established themselves on the coast of Coromandel (Chola mandalam) and enjoyed a civilization not less advanced than that of the Aryan Settlements in the North. They were referred to along with the Keralas and the Pandyas in the Second Rock Edict of the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, in the third century B.C. The great chronicle of Ceylon, an ancient work in Pali called the Mahavanso, made it the theme of one of its main episodes, the war waged against the Island by the Chola Tamils in the early centuries preceding the Christian era.

Some scholars have advanced the hypothesis that it was a colony of Dravidian merchants who, becoming acquainted with an alphabetic writing derived from the white Pre-Semetic Akkadians north of the Euphrates Valley, brought the script to India, being thus the first to introduce the art of writing into Dravida Desam. There is in the proof that is adduced in support of this hypothesis much that tends to show that the Tamils, as early as the seventh century before the Christian era, had developed such a degree of maritime and commercial enterprise as to tempt them to undertake voyages across the sea to distant countries. The principal port of the Cholas was Kaveripaddinam, situated near the northern mouth of the Kaveri.

The first capital of the Cholas was Uraiyur. probably the oldest portion of the modern Trichinopoly ; and later on they ruled from their capital Jayam-Koṇḍa-Cholapuram, in the Udaiyarpalayam Taluq of the Trichinopoly District, the relics of whose greatness are still to be seen in an embankment, many miles long, of a ruined reservoir, probably one of the largest in India, and a temple which, even in its present neglected condition, attests to its once magnificent proportions and costly Dravidian architecture. Other places there are too in the same District, which remind us by their names of these ancient rulers, such as Gangai-Koṇḍa-Cholapuram and Gandarāḍittam. As the Chola kings grew in power they had their capitals Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Conjivaram and their Viceroys in Rajahmundry in the north and Madura in the South. It is interesting to note that when Samudragupta raided the South about 340 A.D., a Pallava ruled at Kanchi.

In addition to the notice of their existence in the Asoka Edicts and the Mahavanso, before the Christian era, we find allusions to the Cholas, in the Periplus Maris Erithræ in the first century, in Ptolemy's Geography in the second century, in the travels of Hiun Thsang in the seventh century and in the travels of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Beyond references to the existence of the Cholas as a ruling power there is nothing in these contemporary records that could help us in the construction of a connected Chola History. Nor do we derive substantial aid from Sanskrit or Tamil writings, which give conflicting accounts the accuracy of which has yet to be confirmed by lithic records which however have so far not taken us earlier than the eighth century A.D. We, no doubt, now and then meet with in the indigenous literature names like Kòchengannán and Karikâla. Of these, the latter is reputed to have built the Kaveri embankments, employed forced labour paying them with leather money, thus invoking the anger of the Gods and a dust-storm which destroyed his capital, and probably ruled in the second century of the Christian era. The same name is

also mentioned as that of the persecutor of the great Vaishnavite Reformer, Ramanujacharya, who had to flee out of the Chola kingdom and take refuge with the King Vishnu Vardhana. But all these sovereigns have yet to be allotted their proper places in Chola genealogy. The Chola inscriptions and coins which have hitherto come to light relate to a period between the ninth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, during which the Cholas rose into great prominence and finally declined, leaving only the numerous South Indian Temples, inscriptions and coins to attest to their greatness. Inscriptions are, however, not wanting to show that the Cholas were a power to be reckoned with even anterior to the eighth century of the Christian era. During the supremacy of that strange race, the Pallavas, the Cholas seem to have occupied but a subordinate position, but had never lost their native virility or a good portion of their inherited dominions.

It is when the history of the Pandyan kings becomes intimately connected with that of the Chola and Sinhalese sovereigns that we begin to have the help of Epigraphy and Numismatics. It is then too that the account in the Mahavanso of the inroads of the Tamils into the island of Ceylon and of the reprisals of the Sinhalese on the mainland come to be matter of lithic record.

Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era the Chola kings, with varying success, attempted to maintain their supremacy over the whole of the Southern Presidency. In order to understand the coins of this period, it is necessary to bear in mind who were the contemporary kings that ruled in different portions of the country over which the Cholas struggled for predominence. There were the Chalukyas of Rajahmundry in the north and the Pallavas who had ruled on the Coromandel coast with Kanchipuram as their capital. From Nellore and the Ghauts to the sea, was the ancient Dravida Desam, or the land of the Tamils, of which the northern

portion the Chola Desam, extended from the Kaveri to the Palar; from the Kaveri to Comorin was the Pandya country; and the Chera country comprised all the territory westward as far as the sea. Another race of kings playing a prominent part in the Chola history of this period are the Gangas, who ruled probably from Mukkalingam near Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District. And if to these be added the Sinhalese sovereigns who governed the Island of Ceylon, during the time of the Chola ascendancy in the mainland and the King of Pegu, the tale of sovereignties, with the conquest of which the Chola history mainly deals, would be almost complete.

A fairly reliable genealogy of the Chola soveriegns of this period is now available. Parantaka ruled from A.D. 907 to 949, from Uraiyur and was known as 'Madurantaka' and 'Vira Narayana.' The Jains were numerically strong during his reign but he is also reputed to have built the Kanaka Sabha or the Golden Hall of the Chidambaram Temple, a meritorious act of devotion to Siva, to which more than one Chola sovereign lays claim. No coins of the king have been yet found.

After Parantaka (whose accession was in A.D. 907 and death in A.D. 949) till we come to the time of his great grandson Raja Raja, who ascended the throne in A.D. 985, we meet with the name of no remarkable Chola king. 'Certain inscriptions of Parantaka are of special interest to the student of village institutions by reason of the full details they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well organised local committees, or Panchayats exercising administrative and judicial control under royal sanction.' The immediate predecessor of Raja Raja, was the grandson of Parantaka and the son of Gandaraditya. He assumed the title of *Madurantaka* and was known as Uttama Chola. To this monarch must be assigned, one of the two varieties of coins, bearing the legend 'Uttama Chola' in Grandha characters, and having a seated tiger with a fish

in front of it, the tiger being the dynastic emblem of the Cholas and the fish that of the Pandyas. It was not unnatural that the king who assumed the name 'Madurantaka' 'conqueror of the Pandyan capital Madura,' should adopt on his coins the Pandyan emblem of the fish in token of his sovereignty over the Pandyan country. The other coin of Uttama Chola has the Chera emblem, the bow, in addition to the fish and the tiger and has the legend in Devanagari characters and this coin has to be attributed to a later reign, that of Rajendra I, whose coins bearing the same emblems have the legend in Nagari, 'Sri Rajendrah.' There has always been a tendency in the Dravida country to pay increasing deference to the classical language, Sanskrit; and the period of the currency of the two coins above noticed could be determined by the change (from the Grandha to the Devanagari) in the characters used in inscribing the legend on the coins.

One unique specimen has the legend in old Tamil 'Avanipa Sekaran Cholaha,' with two fishes on the obverse, but without any symbol to indicate that it had a Chola origin. In the Indian Antiquary for 1892, Dr. Hultzsch read the legend as 'Avanipa Sekaran Golaga,' and interpreted it to mean the round coin of 'Avanipa Sekaran,' but he was not quite certain of his reading. The absence of the dynastic emblem of the tiger is not peculiar to this coin alone, for, as will be presently pointed out, many of the coins of Raja Raja do not bear that emblem. It is not improbable that imitating the pronunciation of the Sanskrit 'Cholah' an attempt was made to transcribe the word in Tamil, in order that the legend might sound quite classical. It was unnecessary to show on the coin the Chola's dynastic emblem when the name of the king himself was given, while the two fishes on the obverse, indicated his supremacy in the Pandyan and Chola territories. On the other hand reading the legend as 'Golaga' and interpreting it as a 'round coin'

would lead to the assumption that the perfectly superfluous information that the coin was round in shape, was conveyed by the legend, when the roundness of the coin was an obvious index of its shape. And the term 'gola' was itself one which could not have been paraded by a supreme sovereign having regard to its opprobrious significance in the Hindu Law.

After Madurantaka *alias* Uttama Chola, came by far the greatest of the Chola kings, Raja Raja I, *alias* Raja Kesari Varma who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. He maintained a large standing army of well disciplined body-guards, foot soldiers and archers, that was ever in readiness for active service, and with the aid of his valiant troops he quelled the rebellion of Kandalur Salai, subdued the Vengi and Ganga countries, defeated and humbled the Chalukyas, deprived the Pandyas of their splendour, took Ceylon and so distinguished himself. We read in one of his inscriptions, that he was worthy of worship everywhere. From 1001 A.D., he sheathed his sword and cultivated the arts of peace. When he ascended the throne, the Chola kingdom hardly comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and a portion of the district of Coimbatore Before he died, he had destroyed the Chera fleet, his power extended over the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras, part of Mysore, the Island of Ceylon, the Laccadives and the Maldives. It was he who built the Brihatiswara Temple at Tanjore one of the grandest specimens of Dravidian architecture in Southern India.

Though a great Saiva devotee he seems to have been tolerant of other sects and creeds. A set of twenty one copper plates, preserved now in the University Museum in Leyden in Holland, hence known as the Leyden Grant, records the interesting fact that he granted a village to a Buddhist Vihara at Negapatam, a monastery which was probably on the site of the present St. Joseph's buildings in that town.

The regulations for the levy of taxes and the minuteness with which the land measurements were made indicate

the great care bestowed by Raja Raja in the administration of the large empire which he had built up during his reign. From 1011 A.D. his son Rajendra ruled the country along with the father as heir apparent.

The coins of Raja Raja also attest to the extent of his dominions and the length and prosperity of his rule, and throughout the Madras Presidency, we meet with his *copper kasu* in large numbers. Every itinerant pedlar who barters pepper, turmeric and spices for old copper is able to get together, after a week's labour, a large number of these specimens current more than nine hundred years ago. The commonest of these bear on their obverse a standing human figure clad in regal robes, and on the reverse the same figure seated, with the legend in Devanagari characters, 'Raja Raja' under the right arm. Coins with similar devices and legend occur also, but more rarely, in silver and gold.

The Chola emblem, generally found on seals, is a seated tiger ; on the coins of the later Chola sovereigns, the figure of the seated tiger is found flanked by the fish, the Pandyan emblem and the bow, the Chera emblem. Yet this characteristic Chola device of the tiger is not generally to be found on the coins of Raja Raja. The only known instance in which the dynastic device is figured on his issues is a coin in impure silver, on the obverse of which is the typical squatting human figure above referred to with a seated tiger flanked by lamps and surmounted by a parasol, with on the reverse the seated tiger, the fish and the bow respectively, the Chola, Pandya and Chera emblems. On the other hand, the standing and seated human figures adverted to already are familiar symbols of the Sinhalese sovereigns of Ceylon, so much so that Raja Raja's coins are usually referred to as those of the Ceylon type. The adoption of this Ceylon type by Raja Raja, the greatest monarch of his age, must be of real significance. Might it not be that, to commemorate his victory over the king of Ceylon, and publish his supremacy

in countries even beyond the seas, the device of the Sinhalese was adopted by their conqueror, the great Raja Raja Chola, just as the fish of the Pandya and the bow of the Chera were adopted to proclaim that he was a *Mummudi* Chola, or the Chola with the three crowns? Coins too are not uncommon on which the legend 'Raja Raja' appears along with the Pandyan emblem, the fish, and the Chalukyan emblem, the boar. The former coin has on the reverse also the legend 'Sekhara' written twice. The two gold pieces in plate VI, of distinctly Sinhalese type with the legends Lankêsvara and Raja Raja, were probably issued by this ambitious monarch in Ceylon after his conquest of the Island. At a later age Lankapura Dandanadha issued the Kahapanas of Ceylon after humbling the Pandyas, thus, history having its tale of reprisals and repetitions.

Others there are attributable to this Chola king which bear distinctly Vaishnavite emblems such as the 'Vishnupāda', or feet of Vishnu, or the figure of Krishna as Muralidhara (the flute player,) familiar objects of worship among the Vaishnava sect. This fact is another instance of the king's religious toleration which made him endow a Buddhist monastery, and a Siva temple at about the same time.

In still other specimens bearing the legend Raja Raja, there is on the obverse the representation of a gallopping horseman, but the significance of this symbol it is not yet possible to definitely determine.

This diversity in the types of the coinage of Raja Raja tempts one to incline to the theory that the difference in type was the consequence of more than one prince of the same name having issued coins bearing the legend, Raja Raja. There was indeed more than one prince of the Chola kingdom bearing that name, but none so powerful or prosperous as the king who built the temple of Tanjore. It is therefore probable that the king when he conquered the Pandyas, ordered

the fish emblems to be placed on the coins struck immediately after the victorious event, and a similar occasion might have prompted the adoption of the Chalukya and Simhalese devices, while the occurrence of Vaishnava and Saiva emblems alike on his issues serves to emphasize the extremely tolerant spirit that allowed of Vaishnava sculptures being wrought in the tower of the great Saiva Temple of Tanjore.

Rajendra succeeded his father Raja Raja in 1011 A.D. and vanquishing the Ganga prince after a sanguinary war, assumed the surname of Gangai Koṇḍa Chola. Like his father, he was ceaseless in activity in humbling his rivals and annexing their dominions and making the Chola rule steadfast from Kalinga in the north to Kumari in the south. He it was who probably built the temple and settled in the place called after him, Gagaikonda Cholapuram, in the Wodaiyarpalayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. Like his father he took delight in parading in his inscriptions what was very likely a fact that he had humbled the Pandyas and Cheras. During his reign another intermarriage with the Chalukyas of Vengi served to further cement the relationship first brought about by the marriage of Raja Raja's daughter to a Chalukya prince.

The coins of Gangai Konda Chola have the same devices both on the obverse and the reverse. 'In the centre is a seated tiger, the emblem of the Chola king, facing the right, with two fishes, the emblem of the Pandyan king in front, and a bow the emblem of the Chera king behind, the whole group flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two chowries.' Underneath is the legend in Nagari 'Gangaikoṇḍa Chola' in two lines. The Collector of South Indian coins comes across now and then two other coins, one bearing the legend 'Sri Rajendra' and the other legend 'Uttama Chola' in Nagari characters both of the same type as the coins bearing the legend 'Gangaikoṇḍa Chola' already noticed. The first of these was evidently issued

before the conquest of the Ganga country by Parakesari Varman, *alias* Rajendra Deva and the latter seems to have been issued when he assumed the surname Uttama Chola whenever that might have been. As already pointed out the title Uttama Chola was also assumed by Madurantaka, son of Gandaraditya, and the predecessor of Raja Raja.

In the first half of the eleventh century five kings ruled between the time of Gangaikonda Chola and that of Kulôttunga Chola who ascended the throne in A.D. 1070. They all recount in their inscriptions in high sounding terms their warlike exploits and conquests over the neighbouring kingdoms. But there is a blank in the coinage of this period and no coins of these five sovereigns have hitherto beer discovered.

In 1071 A.D. the daughter's son of Rajendra Chola, who was ruling from 1061 in Vengi or the Chalukya country usurped the Chola throne. He assumed the name, 'Kulôttunga Chola' and ruled over the southern country for nearly half a century. He had had been adopted by Rajendra *alias* Gangaikonda Chola as heir apparent to the throne, but only succeeded in obtaining the sovereignty by force in the year 1070 A.D., some nine years after he had become ruler of Vengi. The province of Vengi was thereafter entrusted by him to his uncle first, and then to his sons, one of whom Vira Chola assumed the office of Viceroy in 1078 A.D.

Kulôttunga I conquered the Kerala, Pandya, and Kuntala countries and was anointed in the Chola kingdom as Kulôttunga Chola Deva. It is not possible without encroaching much on the reader's time, to recount the doings of Kulôttunga during a long reign. One remarkable title of his however cannot be omitted. He was quite as just as he was valiant and being struck with the oppressive character of the numerous tolls and taxes till then levied and under the weight which his people were groaning, he abolished the tolls altogether thus gaining the name of *Sungam tavirta* Kulôttunga

Chola Deva—he who abolished the tolls. Kulôttunga resided both at Gangaikonda Cholapuram and Kanchipuram; the latter place w iich was only second in importance became a Chola city after the subversion of tbe Pallavas in the eighth century A.D.

One would expect that such a long reign could be illustrated by a fairly large variety of coins but the results of numismatic research till now have been disappointing. Some years ago there was a find of sixteen gold coins in the Krishna District, which are now in the Government Central Museum at Madras. The Government Epigraphist, to whom they were sent, deciphered and published them in the Indian Antiquary. The coin is described as follows :—'Centre: A boar facing the proper left and surrounded by two lamps, an elephant goad, a parasol, and two indistinct emblems.' Margin, Sri Raja Raja Samwat-34. 'The coins bear the legend on the obverse, while the punchmarks show through on the plain reverse. The irregular concave shape of the obverse was evidently caused by the gradual bending of the coin during the application of six several punches to make the impressions on the coins.'

In the same series have to be placed other coins which show on the obverse a boar and on the reverse the legend 'Chola Narayana.' The first of these is surmised by Dr. Hultsch to be that of Kulôttunga's father, the Eastern Chalukyan king, Raja Raja, who ruled between A.D. 1022-1063; while the latter is attributed to Kulôttunga himself from the fact that he had borne the surname, Rajanarayana. There are in my possession copper pieces which have on the obverse the standing figure, as in Raja Raja's coins, and on the reverse, a standing boar, with the Telugu or Canarese legend above, which may be read *Cho* and *Na*. But unless better specimens are procured and further research throws more light on the coinage of this period, nothing definite can be stated about the reign in which the coin was issued.

The Chola power after Kulôttunga I, began gradually to wane and the last king with any pretentions to power was Kulôttunga III, 1278, A.D. By the year 1234, A.D. we see a Hoysala king estsblished in the Chola country with his capital at Kannanore near Samayapuram. We hear also that Raja Raja III was captured by a Perum Singa and had to be rescued by a Hoysala king who consequently prided himself by assuming the title of the 'Establisher of the Chola Kingdom.' At this time too, the Pandyan power which had so long been subject to the Cholas, received a fresh impetus under Mara Varman Sundara Pandya who boasts of having burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur, presented the Chola kingdom to a favourite, but when the Chola prostrated at his feet made a free gift of the kingdom to him. Thus we find in the end of the thirteenth century, the Cholas decline and fall, after having for nearly four centuries been the sole arbiters of the destinies of Dravida Desam.

The coins belonging to this period of Chola sovereignty have not yet been found; but there are with me unassigned coins which possibly refer to the successors of Kulôttunga. On the obverse of all these is the standing Ceylon figure so often referred to above, while on the reverse is the figure of a standing bull, with the Nagari or Canarese syllable 'Vi' which may stand for 'Vikrama Chola', the immediate successor of Kulottunga *alias* Rajendra. It may not be improbable too that to the more than one Raja Raja that ruled after Kulôttunga we have to attribute the more modern looking of the copper issues bearing the legend Raja Raja.

Some of the Pandyan coins of this period throw light on the low ebb to which the Chola power had been reduced by various causes. One coin bears the legend 'Kachi Vaḷangum Perumāḷ' which means that a Pandyan king after taking the Chola town Kanchipuram in battle, gave it back generously to the vanquished Chola prince.

The other records that the Pandyan king conquered the Chola country, in the brief legend "Chōnāḍu Koṇḍān." Thus briefly is the story of the Chola coinage as far as it is known at present. By far the commonest of them are the copper cash of Rāja Rāja ; the gold and silver pieces are very difficult to obtain. The issues of a large number of the Chola sovereigns have yet to be discovered and deciphered. Vast quantities of these valuable store-houses of information are annually going 'to the goldsmith's crucible and the brazier's melting pot' and it is the duty of every earnest enquirer into the condition of Ancient India to rescue them from this cruel fate.

LIST OF CHOLA COINS

PLATE V

Fig. 88 A. R. *Obverse:*—In the centre is a seated tiger, facing the right, with two fishes and a lamp in front and a bow and a lamp behind. Above these is an umbrella flanked by chamaras flywhisks).

Reverse:—The legend in Devanagari characters in two lines उत्तम चोलः (Uttama Cholah).

Fig. 89&93 A.R. *Obverse:*—Same as No. 88, but with the legend श्रीराजेन्द्रः (Sri Rajendrah) in Devanagari characters.

Reverse:—Same as the obverse.

Fig. 90&91 A.E. *Obverse:*—Same as No. 88 but with the legend in two lines in Devanagari characters गङ्गैकोण्ड चोलः (Gangai Konda Cholah.)

Reverse:—Same as the obverse.

Fig. 92 A. E. *Obverse:*—Standing figure as in No. 94. (not figured.)

Reverse:—Seated human figure with the Chola Emblem—a seated tiger—to its left. The state umbrella appears above the seated tiger.

Fig. 94 A. E. *Obverse:*—Standing human figure facing the right, with the lotus flower in its left hand and a trident on its right and other emblems in the field tc its left.

Reverse:—Boar standing facing the right with the Canarese legend above (pra......pa)

Fig. 95 A. E. *Obverse:*—Same as No. 94 (not figured.)

Reverse:—Boar passant to the right.

Fig. 96 A. E. *Obverse:*—Same as No. 94.

Reverse:—Recumbent bull with the couch in front and crescent above.

Fig. 97 A. E. *Obverse:*—A seated tiger (the crest of the Cholas) between two fishes (the crest of the Pandyas) and the bow (the crest of the Cheras) of figure 88 above.

Reverse:—The legend in Devanagari युद्धमल्ल (Yuddha malla.)

Fig. 98 A. E. *Obverse:*—Standing figure as in figure No. 100.

Reverse:—Elephant passant to the left with the Tamil legend, மா (Mara), between the Vaishnava emblems the chank (conch shell) and chakram (discus).

Fig. 99 A. E. *Obverse:*—Standing figure as in figure No. 100.

Reverse:—Standing bull, facing the left with the Canarese syllable "*cho*" above.

Fig. 100 A. E. *Obverse:*—Rudely executed human figure standing for what is fully seen on fig. 108

Reverse:—Elephant passant to the left with the Tamil legend மா (Mara) with the Vaishnava emblems the chank and chakram (the conch and discus).

Fig. 101 A. E. *Obverse:*—Same as No. 100.

Reverse:—Standing bull facing the right with the Canarese syllable 'Vi' in front.

Fig. 102 A. E. *Obverse*: Same as No. 100.
Reverse: Standing bull facing the right with the crescent moon above the Canarese syllable *Vi* in front.

Fig. 105 A. E. *Obverse*: Is the obverse of coins with different reverses as in figures 103, 104. 106 and 107.

Fig. 103 A. E. Recumbent bull with the crescent moon above.

Fig. 104 A. E. Standing bull with the crescent moon above and the "chank" in front.

Fig. 106 & 107 A.E. *Obverse*: Standing bull with the crescent moon above and the Devanagari syllable वी (Vi).

PLATE VI.

Fig. 108 Au. *Obverse*: Standing figure of the king in regal robes, with the lotus flower in the right hand and the trident in the left hand.
Reverse: Seated figure of the king with legend श्री लङ्केश्वर (Sri Lankeswara) in Devanagari characters.

Fig. 109 Au. *Obverse*: Same as No. 108.
Reverse: Same as fig. No. 108 but with the legend श्री राज राज (Sri Raja Raja). in Devanagari characters.

Fig. 110 Ar, Ae. *Obverse*: Same as No. 108.
Reverse: Same as No. 108.

Fig. 111 A. E. *Obverse*: Same as No. 108 (not figured)
Reverse: Same as No. 108 but with the legend 'Sri Rajêndra'.

Fig. 112 A. E. *Obverse*: Same as No. 108.

Reverse: The seated figure as in 108 with the Tamil legend "ந்த" (nda), probably standing for Sundara.

Fig. 113 A. E. *Obverse*: Same as No. 100 (not figured.)

Reverse: A gallopping horseman.

Fig. 114 A. E. *Obverse*: Same as No. 100 (not figured.)

Reverse: Seated figure as in No. 108 with the legend in Tamil வி (Vi.)

Fig. 115 *Obverse*: The seated tiger and two fishes in the field with two three armed lamps flanking the figures.

Reverse: The reverse is plain. This figure is the copy of a wax impression of an iron Chola seal.

Fig. 116 A. E. *Obverse*: Standing figure as in fig. 100 (not figured.)

Reverse: Seated figure with legend रा ஜ., the first syllable in Devenagari and the second in Tamil.

Fig. 117 A. E. *Obverse*: Standing figure as in No. 100.

Reverse: Seated figure with legend राज (a small coin, one half of the copper cash usually met with.)

Fig. 118 A. E. *Obverse*: Standing figure as No. 110.

Reverse: Seated figure as in No. 110 but with a fish instead of the legend to the left of the figure.

Fig. 119 A. E. *Obverse*: Standing figure as in No. 110 b. with the "Vishnupādam," to its left.

Reverse: Seated figure with the legend राज as in fig. 110.

Fig. 120 A. E. *Obverse*: Standing figure as in No. 110.

Reverse: Bull standing facing the right with the crescent above.

Fig. 121 A. E. *Obverse*: Standing figure of a flute player with

the Tamil syllable வி. (*Vi*) to its left.

Reverse: Seated figure with the Devanagari legend राज राज (Raja Raja.)

Fig. 122 A. E. *Obverse*: Same No. 121 but with syllable ரா. (Rā) to the left of the figure.

Reverse: Same as No. 121.

Fig. 123 A. E. *Obverse*: Seated figure as in figure No. 121, with legend : Raja-Raja in Devanagari characters.

Reverse: The Tamil legend in two lines :

சேகரன்.

சேகரன்.

PLATE V

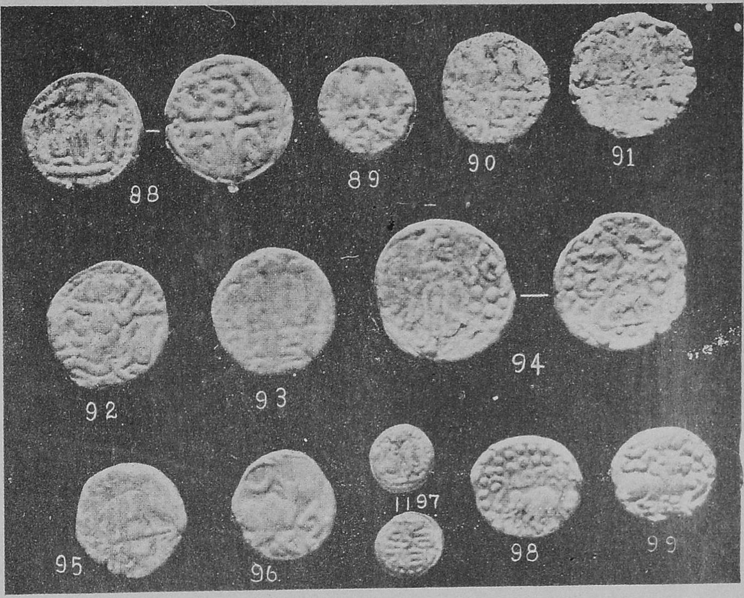
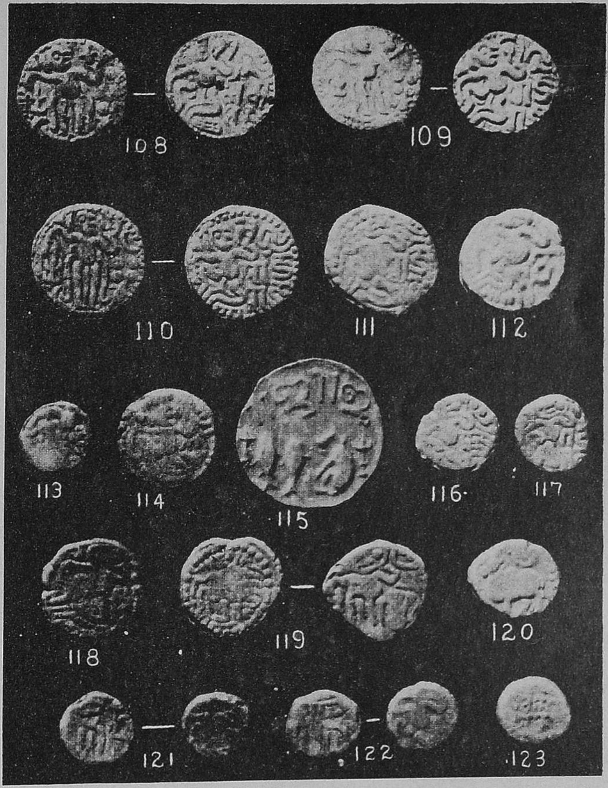


PLATE VI



THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'ARYA'

BY

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THE name 'Aryas' (ஆரியர்) by which the Vedic race called itself in times of pre-historic antiquity seems to furnish a very important and interesting point of contact between that race and the primitive Dravidians. It is held to be a purely Sanscrit term derived from a primordial root akin to, or identical with, the Latin and Greek *ar* meaning 'to plough' and, hence, it has been inferred that, at first, it meant 'a cultivator', and then 'a lord' or 'a nobleman', which latter meaning it is said to retain till to-day. It may, however, be pointed out here that that eminent Sanscritist, the late Dr. K. M. Bannerjea of Calcutta, did not concur in the above explanation. He theorized that the word was originally of Semitic extraction but adopted into, and naturalized in, Sanscrit in later times. If the true history of the term and of its connexion with Sanscrit be that given by the learned Dr. Bannerjea, we need no further proof to show that the true 'Aryas' of antiquity were a race, not the same as that from which the primitive Sanscritians sprang. It is possibly a historical fact that the country beyond the Western frontier of the Punjab known as 'Ariana',*

* Bochart proves that Media was called Ara or Aria from Hara, a place where the Assyrian kings Pul and Tiglathpilesar had vanquished the Reuvenites, the Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh (vide I Chronicles. chap: 5, v. 26). Tbe name Ariyan appears thus to be of Semitic origin but adopted and naturalized in Sanscrit.

'A Turanian invasion of Media, as was suggested by Dr. Oppert, was probably the cause of the introduction of the name Media and the

as Dr. Bannerjea says, for some centuries preceding the Christian era, was anciently inhabited by the forefathers of the later Sanscrit-speaking races of Hindustan. This forms, however, no irrefragable proof of any primordial connexion between the primitive Sanscritians and the name of 'Aryas' now applied to them. For, there is nothing to preclude the supposition that the country might have been so named on account of its having been the residence of a pre-Semitic or Turanian race long before it came into the possession of the ancestors of the Indic Sanscritians. Moreover, if the conclusion of many an antiquarian may be relied on that the ancient Semites were indebted to their neighbours for most of their culture and arts, we are not, then, wrong in carrying the pedigree of the art of husbandry further back to the times when the Bels of Chaldea ruled supreme in the regions of the Persian Gulf. Referring

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consequent expulsion of the Ariyans from their primitive home.' *The Ariyan Witness* by Rev. Dr. K. M. Bannerjea, pp. 83, 93 and 91.)

If 'Hara', or 'Ara' was, in fact, the primitive vocable from which the word 'Arya' was in subsequent times evolved, the suggestion may not be out of place that the Tamils with whom the Brahminical races are admitted to have freely mixed were known also by a name significantly corresponding to 'Hara' or 'Ara'—I mean the name 'Arava' by which they are called even to-day by their neighbours. It is here necessary to refute the following dictum born of prejudice of the author of *The Indian Empire*, viz. 'many words have been borrowed (by the Indo-Aryan vernaculars) from Dravidian languages generally in a contemptuous sense. Thus the common word *pilla*, "cub," is really a Dravidian word meaning "son". " (vide p: 363). The above observation is obviously based on incorrect information. '*Pillai*' in Tamil means 'child' and not 'son' and is used to denote not only a human child but also the young of a parrot, a squirrel, a mungoose, a young cocoanut-palm a young areca-palm, &c., &c. There is no reason to doubt that 'pillai' was in ancient times used to signify not only a human child but also the young of all domesticated or pet animals of the Tamil people. To make the case stronger I would cite that of the word 'kulavi' (குழவி) which though now restricted in meaning to a human child was used also in ancient Tamil to connote the young of beasts. 'Kulavi' and 'pillai' are words meaning the same thing and their usages were most probably also similar.

to the position of the pure Semites with regard to civilization, the great German savant, Dr. F. R. Grau of Konisburg says, 'If the idea of culture is understood in the sense in which the Hamites laid its foundations and the Indo-European erected thereon the magnficient structure of modern civilization, then the Semites as a whole must be excluded from the list of civilized nations. . . . For, while around them flourished various forms of Hamitic civilization, they were destitute of everything which could be compared with them ; . . . (among them) no science, no art, was developed, no industry or even trade, sprang up.'* Is it probable, then, that the Aryans learnt the art of agriculture from the Semitic nomads? To quote Dr. Grau once more, 'Mankind owes to the Hamites the first great development of agriculture. It was not merely to the fertility of the low lands that their agricultural success was due, but rather to their rational system of management. An agricultural literature sprang up among the ancient Hamites, also at a very early period.'†

The improbability, then, of a term meaning 'cultivator' first originating among a race of shepherds such as the Semites are known to have been, when they emerge in history, is a strong proof of its non-Semitic derivation. In so far as its relation to the dialect of the Vedic race is concerned, the following lines would seem to contain all that has hitherto been said about it by those who have believed in its Sanscritian origin, viz. the term 'Arya' in modern Sanscrit means 'noble,' or 'of good family', and it is probably connected with the root 'ar' which, in both Greek and Latin, means 'to plough' and which appears in English in the word 'ear-th' meaning literally 'what is ploughed' from an old English word 'to ear' meaning 'to plough'. The

* *The Goal of The Human Race*, pp. 87–8.

† *The Goal of The Human Race*, p. 6.

Aryas, perhaps, it is further explained, used this word to distinguish themselves as an agricultural nation with a settled home from the wandering tribes of Tartars that surrounded them.

It need hardly be pointed out that this theory is, at best, a mere conjecture as no satisfactory proof has yet been adduced to show that 'Arya' ever meant, in primitive Sanscrit, 'a husbandman', or that agriculture was, at any time, regarded by the primitive Sanscritians as a noble occupation. For while 'the Hamites settled in fruitful and alluvial plains' well-suited for agriculture, 'the Indo-Europeans preferred mountains and heights unfavourable for developing the first germs of civilization.' 'The primitive Indo-European nation was, probably, still in that peculiar state of transition in which agriculture is only temporarily carried on and is subordinated to cattle breeding as it is now the case among many Arab tribes.'*

It will thus be seen that the great agricultural races of the ancient world were necessarily of the Hamitic or Cushite stock, and that, if the primitive Sanscritians were ever indebted to any race for their knowledge of systematic husbandry, these must have been a Cushite people and not Semites. Further, no trace of the supposed pre-eminence of the agricultural class amongst the primitive Sanscrit-speaking tribes can be shown to exist in their language or writings, and this fact, considering the great amount of old literature in Sanscrit that has come down to our day, seems fatal to any supposition or inference that the term 'Arya' was primarily the tribal name of the agricultural fore-fathers of the Sanscritic Indians. Are we able to glean any evidence from Sanscrit literature that the cultivating classes at any time held the highest rank in the social arrangements of the ancient Sanscritians? The answer to this question is neither

* *The Goal of The Human Race*, pp. 6, 57–8.

difficult nor far to seek. In their social and political organization, it was the priest who, it is commonly believed, held the foremost place, while, the cultivator was, in point of rank or precedence, considered lower than even the rude swordsman who often led the life of a free-booter or marauder.* The impossibility of deriving an honoured name from that of a despised class is too evident to be mistaken and unless it can be proved that the mass of literature in Sanscrit presents things in a way quite the reverse of what they actually were in times of old, the suggestion that the 'Aryas' were, at first, a race of farmers must be abandoned as utterly groundless. Sir M. M. William, in his *Indian Wisdom*, says, 'the very name *Arya* is, as every one now knows, connected with the root *ri=ar*, whence *aratrum*, 'a plough,' (*e.g.* Sanscrit *aritra*). It is curious to note how the Brahmans, after their segregation as the dominant class, sought to deprecate agriculture. Manu (X. 84) says: 'Some think that agriculture (*krishi*) is an excellent thing, but it is a mode of existence blamed by the good, because the iron-mouthed plough-share wounds the earth and the creatures living in it.' To this, the author of The *Vedic India*, which may be said to be a summary, in many important respects, of the conclusions and inferences arrived at by a large number of Indo-logists of European reputation, replies as follows, viz: 'it has been suggested — but the attractive suggestion has unfortunately not proved capable of sufficient scientific proof — that the name "*Arya*" itself is connected with this root (*e.g. ar*=to plough,) and the people who took it for their own originally meant to call themselves "the people who plough" in proud distinction from their sheep-raising, steppe-roaming, the

* In Bengal where Brahminical influences have been strong for some centuries past. the cultivating classes. the Mahisyas, hold a lower place than the Banias, the traders, till the times of (Ballal Sen Ballala-Sena), a king of the last dynasty of Bengal who were Vellala princes of Southern India. This king raised the Mahisyas, it is said, over the Banias thus changing the social usages of old Bengal in conformity with the practices of the Tamils.

robber neighbours, the Turanians. But, at the time at which we begin to know them *Arya* meant noble, exalted, venerable.'* It is well known to students of history that 'upon the fall of Carthage, the Romans handed over to their African allies the libraries of their fallen foes, retaining, however, the great work of Mago, a contemporary of Cyrus, on agriculture which consisted of twenty-eight volumes, and dealt with all branches of the art. It was, subsequently, at the request of the Senate, translated into Latin. But, Carthage, in this as in other branches of culture, was merely the missionary and intermediary of the Babylonians and the Egyptians. The existence of the book of Nabathaean agriculture proves beyond doubt that the art of husbandry was highly developed in ancient Chaldea while there exists positive monumental evidence of the times of "The Ancient Empire" of Egypt that it was then in a state of high development in that country.'† In the opinion of the famous Liebig, modern people can rival the Mongolian Chinese in their rational method of agriculture, while Sir John Hewett, in his treatise on *The Pre-historic Ruling Races* says that the Dravidians were, of all the great races of antiquity, the first to systematize agriculture.

The Rig-Veda is supposed to be a very ancient book. Some scholars have even ascribed to certain hymns of its earlier chapters an antiquity far higher than the time of the entrance of the ancestors of the Sanscritic Indians into the land of the Five Rivers—an antiquity co-eval with the times when the remote ancestors of the Vedic Rishis lived in peace and comfort in their primordial habit at near the North Pole offering sacrifices and singing hymns to their god or gods or powers of nature.‡ Now, the word 'Arya'

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* *Vedic India*, by Z. A. Ragozin, pp. 6–12.

† *The Goal of The Human Race*, pp. 6. 7.

‡ In the Rig Veda the race which called itself Aryas is referred to as 'the descendants of Manu', 'the tribes of Nahush', 'the five tribes of Nahush'

frequently occurs in the hymns of the *Rig*, and if its composition really dates in that far-off age of the past when the common progenitors of the Sanscritic Indians, the Greeks, the Latins, the Schlaves, the Kelts, and the Teutons yet lived together in regions outside the boundaries of India, it follows that the use of the appellation 'Arya' must have been equally current among the early European races belonging to these nationalities as among those whose descendants called themselves by that name on the plains of Hindustan. But, strangely enough, not one of these European races who, by the affiliation of language, have been proved to belong to the same ethnological stock with the Sanscritic Indians now remembers, or have preserved even, the slightest trace of the fact of their being once known by the name of 'Aryas'; and this is even still more strange and inexplicable in the case of the Hellenistic and the Latin races, as it seems most probable that if the term did actually exist in the old common mother tongue of the Indo-Aryan group of races, it would have found a place in the rich vocabulary of ancient Greece which possessed a literature reaching far back, it is said, into

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'the five tribes—Yadus, Duruvasus, Duruhyus, Anus and Purus', 'the worshippers of Indra' &c., &c., &c. Besides 'Yadus and Duruvasus', says Mr. Lewis Rice, 'Yayati had three sons, Drahyu, Anu and Puru and the collective people of the five races who claimed to be descended from these were the Dravidian Bharatas under Visvamitra who resisted the Aryan advance under Vashishta.' (Vide *The Gazetteer of Mysore* by Lewis Rice M.A., Chap: on Ethnology.')

The author of the *Vedic India* writing almost in the same strain says that the Baharatas and the Purus were originally Dravidians. (*Vedic India*, pp. 328, 319, 324). Add to the above the tradition that the progenitor Manu who with seven others survived the deluge was, according to the Puranas in which are preserved undoubtedly the traditions and myths of pre-historic Bharathavarsha, a king of the Dravida country of the race of the Pandyas. It may be noted also that Yadu and Duruvasu, whom the Puranas, the Tamil liturature and South Indian inscriptions connect with the Dravidians, are always mentioned together in the Rig Veda and lived in the regions of the Yamuna on the banks of which the ancient Madura is said to have been founded by the ancestors of the Pandyas.

antiquity. This applies as well to the Latin language which is equally guiltless of possessing any evidence that the term 'Arya' was a household name of the primitive Romans. Some have ventured by artificial and fanciful deriviations and explanations to connect terms which, in form, are utterly unlike one other. As an instance of these feats of philology, I would just repeat* what Mr. Kunte, who was a staunch believer in the common origin of the Sanscritic Hindus, and the old Greeks and the Teutons of Europe, has stated on this point. He says 'Arya', when it is pronounced, as a Londoner pronounces 'arm' into 'harm', becomes 'harya', and being slightly modified, it passed into 'Hellas' the name of the Hellas. 'Hellaspont' i.e. *Ariapatha* was so named on account of its being the highway of the 'Aryas'. The Germans converted the 'Harya' into 'Herr' which has passed into 'Sir' of the English language. Some insignificant tribes pressed from behind by stronger Aryas, penetrated into Italy, and settled in its different parts husbanding their energy, but occupying the fertile portions of the peninsula under different names. Hence, there is no name in Latin that exactly corresponds to 'Arya' in sound, or sense.† And likewise, the ancient Schalves also had no remembrance of their

* *The Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization of India*, by M. M. Kunte, B.A., pp. 66-7.

† A close parallel to the absence of the term 'Arya' in the Teutonic Latin and Schlavonic tongues of Europe is furnished by the Sanscrit word 'Sahasra' meaning 'thousand'. 'There is no common word, says' Z. A. Rogozin 'for thousand in our languages or more correctly in the parent languages of ours—Sanscrit, Greek, Latin', Old Teutonic having each fabricated a word of its own . . . as to our Aryan forefather, we cannot escape the inference from this fact that they could count only up to a hundred· the numerals so far coinciding in all Aryan languages with almost comical regularity; . . . they may have known of thousands as so many 'tens of hundreds,' and counted . . . twelve hundred, eighteen hundred and so on.' The *Vedic India* p. 73. The above seems to be a conclusive proof of the Sanscrit 'Sahasra' being a modified form of the Tamil 'Aiyiram' 'thousand' the intermediate steps being 'Sayiram, Sasiram, and Sahasiram.

once being 'Aryas.' These are opinions, which, in view of the great names that support them, cannot, I admit, be despised. It may, however, be observed that if the evolution of the 'Aryapatha' of the Brahmans into the 'Hellespont' of the Greeks be a fact, the day cannot be far distant when we shall be told to believe that the 'Ravaneswara' of the South Indian Kurumbas is only an evolved form of the 'Unkulun-Kulu' of the South African Zulus.

Having been so far concerned with the term 'Arya' in its Sanscritic relations, we shall now proceed to enquire if it is possible to connect it with any Dravidian source. It is now generallv admitted that the Vedic Sanscritians were not at all a pure race, their ancestors having freely intermarried with the pre-Aryan tribes who opposed their advance into the plains of the Ganges. It was pointed out years ago by Dr. Taylor that a Tamiloid language, now renresented by its most cultivated branch in the South, constituted the original staple of all the languages of India. The existence of a Tamilian substratum in all the modern dialects of India and of the profound influence which the classical Tamil has exercised on the formation and development of both the Vedic and the classical Sanscrit, is gradually coming to be recognized by students of Indian philology. Further, modern investigations have shown that the bulk of the population of Northern India, so far as their racial affinities are concerned, contain a common factor essentially Dravidian in blood. Says an eminent authority: 'From an ethnological point of view, the Aryans of India are not a pure race as they appear to have been when they dwelt in the valley of the Indus; for, in the *Veda*, a contrast is often drawn between a clear complexion and the dark skin of the indigenous people. They must, on the contrary, have mixed with the natives at some period when a peculiar civilization was in development, and not only has the physical type greatly altered its original Indo-European character, but the

whole civilization of the Indians has received the stamp of Southern and Eastern Asia which makes them appear to us even stranger than the Asiatic Semites or the Egyptians. This fact is often overlooked, because the use of the Aryan speech continually reminds us of the close relationship between the Indian Aryans and the Persians and Europeans; and it is not merely that the Aryans have assumed the racial marks of the Dravidians, but, on the other hand, the pure type of the indigenous population has only been preserved in the uncivilized mountain peoples.'* If in this mixture of the races and the languages of ancient India, we see the origin of a Sanscritic Dravidian race in the north of India, many centuries anterior to our era, it becomes easy to explain how the Tamil term 'Aryan' came to be adopted into the primitive Sanscrit. It is also by no means improbable that the primitive abodes of the two races were in contiguous regions, and that the process of miscegenation had already been in progress when they started on their journey towards the frontiers of the Punjab. Again, the literature, traditions and the customs of the Tamilians support the pre-eminent respectability of the calling of husbandry and hence it is that the social distinctions observed among them have been essentially different from those prevailing among the races of Northern India.

To the Dravidian, there was, indeed, nothing nobler than the yoke and the plough which were to him the very emblems of freedom, honour and virtue. In his estimation, he only was a real freeman to whom the plough was the sole means of livelihood, while all others were, in fact, only servants. That a word once meaning 'a farmer' among such people should have, in the course of time, come to signify 'a noble person' would, therefore, seem to be nothing difficult to

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* *The Historians' History of the World*—'Indian History in Outline' Chapter I, 'Land and People', p. 489.

appreciate.* It is remarkable that the Tamil *êr* (ஏர்) assumes the form *âr* (ஆர்) in Kanarese from which *àriyar* (ஆரியர்) in the sense of 'cultivators' is easily derived. The *Hala* (Old) Kannada in which the older literature of the *Karnatas* is written preserves, undoubtedly, many primitive forms and expressions of the parent-tongue of the Tamilians, and the Kanarese *àr* (ஆர்) represents, possibly, the more ancient form of the word.

If it be contended, however, that 'Arya' really meant in Sanscrit not 'husbandman' but 'a noble person,' it is hardly more necessary than to invite attention to the detailed discussion of this point in an earlier issue of this journal† in which an endeavour was made to prove that 'Aryan' (ஆரியன்) meaning 'a great or exalted person' is Tamil in origin. If one only keeps in view the fact that Tamil is by far older‡ than Sanscrit, and that the latter even in its earlier

* 'Amongst the pure Tamils the class most honoured was that of the *Arivar* or 'sages.' *Arivar* were ascetics: but of the men living in society the farmers occupy the highest position. They formed the nobility or the landed aristocracy of the country. They are now known as Mudalis or 'the first caste.', (*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 113–4.)

'Their (the Tamils') civilization was certainly older than that of the Aryas, for amongst the latter the fighting men were next in rank to the priests, whereas among the Tamils the farmers were next to the religious men, the military class was below even that of the herdsmen and artisans. . . . To this day the Vellala does not take meals or drink water at the house of a Padaiyatchi, who calls himself a Kshatriya or a merchant who passes for a Vaisya' (Vide *ibidem*, p. 116.)

† *The Tamilian Antiquary* No. I, pp. 45-9. (2nd Edition, pp. 42–3.)

‡ It (Tamil) stands alone without any immediate predecessor. In origin it must be long anterior to the Sanscrit. Professor Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhistic India*, commenting on the evolution of the Aryan languages of India, maintains that the Vedic Sanscrit is largely mixed up with the primitive Dravidian.

There is little doubt that the Dravidian languages are incomparably older in point of time than Sanscrit. It is not an unreasonable supposition that they once occupied the whole of Hindustan and have been driven to

stages of growth contained a large admixture of the primitive Dravidian, the strangeness of the phenomenon of the Aryo-Dravidian* or Vedic race of old calling itself by a name indigenous to India must, in a large measure, disappear.

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their present position to the South and along the coast by the encroachment of other languages coming from the north-west. (Vide, *The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, by Dr. Maclean, pp. 42, 112-3).

* 'We may assume for our present purpose that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans came into India from the north-west and that at the time of their arrival the Peninsula, as far as the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna, was in the possession of the Dravidians. . . . For the origin of the Aryo-Dravidian type we need not travel beyond the ingenious hypothesis put forward by Dr. Hoernle twenty years ago and confirmed by the recent researches of Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey. This theory supposes that after the first swarm of Indo-Aryans had occupied the Punjab, a second wave of Aryan-speaking people, the remote ancestors of the Aryo-Dravidians of to-day, . . . made their way into India through Gilget and Chitral and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and Jumna the sacred middle-land (Madhyadesa) of post-Vedic tradition. Here they came in contact with the Dravidians; . . . here the *Vedas* were composed and the whole fantastic structure of orthodox ritual and usage was built up. The linguistic evidence in favour of this view is summarized in Dr. Grierson's chapter on Language in the Report on the Census of India, 1901. For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that the record of physical characters bears out the conclusions suggested by philology. The type of the people now dwelling in the middle-land is precisely what might have been expected to result from the incursion of a fair, long-headed race travelling by a route which prevented women from accompanying them, into a land inhabited by dark-skinned Dravidians. The men of the stronger race took to themselves the women of the weaker, and from these unions was evolved the mixed type which we find in Hindustan and Bihar.

'It (this theory) explains how it is that the Vedic Hymns contain no reference to the route by which the Aryans entered India or to their earlier settlement on the Indus; and it accounts for the antagonism between the eastern and the western sections and for the fact that the latter were regarded as comparative barbarians by the more cultured inhabitants of the middle-land.' (Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India.* The Indian Empire, Vol. I, New Edition, pp. 300, 303-4.)

THE CANARESE WAR*

BY

T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAI ESQ., M.R.A.S.

IN spite of the fact that the Dravidians were the possessors of a civilization even more ancient than that of the Aryans, the history of that part of India occupied by them is still enshrouded in mystery. It is to be regretted that even the times within the memory of man are in that *cimmerian* darkness. Any attempt to remove this veil should be welcome.

While I had been making researches in the history of this ancient land, I came across a cultured young gentleman—a scion of an ancient family in South Travancore which gave a Prime Minister to that estate—who had been silently working towards the same end. He placed at my disposal a few manuscripts of popular songs, which certain classes of people in that part of the country sing in the months of November and December, to the accompaniment of a lyre in the form of a bow, which has consequently given the poems the name of *Vil Adichan Pattu* meaning songs of the beater of bow, and requested me to make out what I could with the aid of the scanty knowledge of Tamil I possessed.

The heading of the most important of the manuscripts is '*Cannadian Pôr*' (கன்னடியன் போர்) which means the War of the Canarese. The verses are evidently in heroic metre and I do not think they are to be found committed to writing. The copies before me were taken down as they were recited.

* With kind permission reprinted from the *Wednesday Review.—Ed.*

through the efforts of my young friend, in the form they were handed down from mouth to mouth by the unlettered. They, therefore, defy all rules of grammar and prosody, though there are sure signs of their having conformed to them once. The poem gives an account of an unreturned royal love, and the consequent invasion of the dominions of the offending monarch. The actual scene of operations was between South Travancore, and a line drawn in the Tinnevelly District from Tuticorin to Shermadevi, and from there to the hills which form part of the Western Ghauts.

The difficulty that would confront one in a matter like this is the assigning of dates to the events narrated in the folk songs. From the fact that the expedition was despatched by the Canarese king of Mysore, it is but natural to conclude that he must have belonged to the Nava-Bellala dynasty which became extinct towards the close of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Again from the fact that an embassy was despatched to the Chera king at Tiruvanjikalam, one may be tempted to carry the events to a time before the tenth century. But as the Vijayanagar kings were of *Vaduga* and *Cannada* descent, it is likely that the king referred to was of that line, and the generals referred to were some of his own or of the Naick Viceroys of Madura. I believe, the latter is the view of Professor Rengaswamy Iyengar of the Maharajah's College, Trivandram, and it is what I infer from an article of Mr. V. Rangachariar that appeared in the *Wednesday Review* of the 2nd February, 1910. In case the events are assigned to the Naick period, they must have transpired during the time of Viswanath Naick, the founder of the dynasty. For, it was he that fought with the last of the Pandyas; the chief participators in the military operations as recorded in the manuscripts were the Canarese Generals, on one side, and the members of the Pandyan family stationed at Vaḷḷiyūr, in the Nanguneri Taluq of the Tinnevelly District and eleven miles

from the borders of Travancore, on the other. I shall not say further on the subject and leave it to others more competent.

Now to the story as given in the manuscripts. The ministers of Kulasêkhara Pândyan, fearing an attack from the Canarese Generals, advised their king to retire to his southern capital Vaḷḷiyūr, and so he did. About this time some minstrels going about from house to house to earn their livelihood by singing popular songs and exhibiting representations of men and places, one day obtained admittance into the Canarese court, and depicted in high-flown metres the personal accomplishments of the Pandyan, and made an effective scenic representation of his likeness before the maiden daughter of the king. She at once became infatuated with love, repaired to the august presence of her father, and spoke in unequivocal terms that either she should make the young Kulasêkhara as her wedded lord or become herself a prey to fire. The king was alarmed at the attitude of his daughter; and without losing time, he despatched an envoy offering Kulasêkhara her hand along with the kingdom that extended from 'Benares to Cape Comorin' and 'all the paraphernalia belonging to that exalted position'. The envoy started at once on his eventful mission and, after traversing various parts of the ancient Chola and Pandyan kingdoms, reached Valliyur where he was ushered into the royal presence at the appointed time, and in due form. When he was interrogated as to the object of his mission, he stated it. The Pandyan scoffed at the idea of making an alliance with a family that was of *plebian* origin, and with which his ancestors had not formed any connection. The envoy pressed the request of his employer; but the prince was inexorable, and told him to go about his business. He, however, took care to observe the etiquette of his court and to command his ministers to make him the usual presents before dismissing him. Disappointed and crest-fallen as he was, the Canarese envoy left the Pandyan court and reached Dwarasamudram in eighteen

days and related all that had taken place. While doing so, he gave a graphic account of the Pandyan country, his great cities including his capital, his fort, his court and his personal accomplishments. The daughter of the king as she listend to it with wrapt attention, became still more infatuated, and pined away so as to lose her health. Intimation was given to her father as to the state of her health. He sent for his daughter and, assuring her that he would endeavour to secure Kulasekhara for her husband, despatched the same envoy on a second mission to secure the object in view. Kulásêkhara reaffirmed his previous reply, and peremptorily ordered the royal messenger to clear out of his presence. On this the Pandyan Prime Minister proposed to put him to disgrace, but the prince declined to be a party to such an unkindly act. The Minister, however, took occasion to read a sermon to the envoy to impress upon him the antiquity of the royal line unlike that of his employer and the great prowess of the Pandyan dynasty in the art of war, not to say of its skill in the arts of peace. The ambassador again returned to Mysore disappointed, and related to his king all that had taken place. The result was a declaration of war.

The King collected a large army composed of different nationalities from all parts of the empire from 'Benares to Cape Comorin' and set out with it on an auspicious day, after propitiating the deities for the success of his arms. His daughter was an important factor in the camp and she was there ready to wed the accomplished Kulasêkhara, as soon as he fell into the trap laid by her father. The results of the war were not attained in a day, for it was a protracted struggle. It may be divided into three compaigns :—

First: Up to the fall of Vaiḷḷiyūr Fort.

Second: The rule of Othachy (உதச்சி), brother of the Canarese king as Viceroy, over Valliyūr and the desultory warfare that took place for a long period. It closed with his

death, and the retaking of the fort of Vaḷḷiyūr by the Pandyan armies.

Third: The defeat of the last of the Pandyans and extermination of that dynasty.

I shall deal with each campaign one by one. The first was not of short duration. It extended for about a year. The march of the Mysore army through the Chōla dominions was smooth-sailing as there were no opposing forces. In the Pandyan kingdom too, some semblance of authority was maintained only towards the extreme south. Till the army reached Poṭṭaputhūr (which in reality is Vaṭṭaputhūr வட்டப்புதூர்) there were no encounters. The Pandyan army was concentrated in that place, and the various divisions of it were placed under the command of four brothers and a nephew of Kulasêkhara. In the battle that ensued, the Canarese force was defeated, and it took refuge at Vaḍukachymalai (வடுகச்சிமலை). As it was nearer to Vaḷḷiyūr the Pandyan army marched on to that place, to concentrate all its strength, and make a determined stand. Operations were commenced early on the following morning, and the respective forces were led by the nephews of the two kings. After a well-contested battle in which a large number of Mysoreans were left dead on the field, the Canarese were completely routed, and they again took refuge at Vaḍukachymalai. Finding the disconcerted state in which his daughter was, the Canarese king assured her that he would leave no stone unturned to compass her object.

The next thing he did was to propitiate the evil spirits. While he was engaged in that pursuit with his immense force, spies informed Kulasêkhara that the attention of his enemy was diverted. He ordered his generals to attack him and they accordingly did so. The battle was again hotly contested. When arrays of Canarese men were discomfited, they were readily and persistently replaced by others. The victory was however with the Pandyan army.

There was a pause. The Canarese generals were refitting their army by collecting all the stragglers and deserters together, and by replacing those slaughtered in the field, by means of levies from Mysore. But their king was again engaged in propitiating the evil spirits, and using the 'black art' to secure victory. On consulting a traitorous astrologer who seceded from the Pandyan camp, he declared in favour of the Mysoreans. While these events were transpiring in the camp of the Canarese king, the Pandyan was seeking a place of refuge in case of reverse. The chief minister Kālingavillan advocated the occupation of the fort at Chorimuttan-pārai (சொரிமுத்தன்பாறை) in the possession of Chêra. It is one that was once built by the Pandyân, and had a zig-zig approach in which lay its safety. It appears to have gone into the hands of Chêra, as a result of conquest. His sanction was therefore necessary to occupy it.

Though the Pandyan hesitated to go into the fort at the Chorimuttan-pārai, he did send his women and treasure. This place is in the Zemindary of Chingampatty, not far away from the sacred falls of *Banathirtham*. The manuscripts referred to communications with Neḍumangād, which is twelve miles from Trevandrum on one side and the Malayankulam (மலையான்குளம்) plains on the other. In Travancore, Neḍumangād is the nearest inhabited point that can be reached from Chorimuttan-pārai, through the *Ponmudi* Hills and *Kallar*. Malayankulam is about seven miles from Ambasamudram at the foot of the ghauts on the eastern side and it came into possession of the Travancore sovereigns probably as the successors of the last of the Pandyans. Till 1831 it was with that kingdom, but was ceded about that time to the British Government. All that is now left of the sovereignty of it are two ruined temples, the presiding dieties of which are receiving starvation allowance.

Kulasêkhara was now free to fight, having got rid of all encumbrances. The Mysoreans were also ready after a lapse

of six months to resume hostilities. Early on a morning the Canarese force laid siege to the fort of Vaḷḷiyūr. The Pandyan army defended it with all the might in its power. The brothers of the king and his nephew with the leading generals were posted at each of the fort gates. The battle raged fiercely. The armies were composed of infantry, cavalry, and elephant trains. The weapons that were used were bows and arrows, swords and lances. At the heat of the battle, the Pandyan thought that it was not fair to have the fort gates closed, and he accordingly caused them to be opened. The Canarese entered the fort. When the two opposing forces closed together there was hand to hand fight. In the hotly contested combat, the nephew (sister's son) of the Pandyan was slain. Though this event paralysed the action for a time, it emboldened him to try further conclusions. He therefore took the command himself, and led 40,000 horses, into the heart of the opposing army which spread itself between Vaḷḷiyūr and Vaḍukachymalai. This was one of the most sanguinary engagements, as it was one of vengeance. Kulasêkhara himself slew a large number of his enemies—men and horses, and the son of the Canarese king himself fell a victim to his sword. And the Cararese army was panic-stricken and fled, leaving the killed and wounded there. It seems that the soldiers of the defeated army were driven out as far as Veeravanallūr and the king and his staff encamped themselves with the remnant of his men on the plains of Callūr.

It must be noted here that throughout the struggle, though the Pandyan army was victorious, the false steps taken by the king and his ministers had all the effects of a defeat. Even after this battle Kulasêkhara was advised to quit Vaḷḷiyūr and seek the stronghold where he had sent his women and treasure. He was personally averse to taking such a step, but the force of circumstances compelled him to accept the proferred advice. The Canarese army followed on his heels and a battle ensued in which the Pandyan king lost another great general in the person of his brother—Tikkelām Pugalum

Perumāl (திக்கெலாம் புகழும் பெருமாள்). There was a lull. The Canarese army was encamped on the plains of Malayankulam and the Pandyan continued to remain in his aery at Chorimuttan-pārai. Both were unwilling to attack each other. The Canarese king tried to inveigle the Pandyan to descend to the plains from his fastness, and give one more battle, but his attempt was doomed to failure. After remaining inactive at the place for months he made up his mind to repair to Vaḷḷiyūr, and set his brother on the throne of Kulasêkhara. Accordingly he went to the place, put his brother in charge of Vaḷḷiyūr and returned to Mysore.

Second Campaign :—Kulasêkhara Pandyan spent some years at Chorimuttan-pārai, and afterwards established himself at Thōvālai, in South Travancore, constructing a fort there, and extended his rule as far as Kôttâr. Thus some years passed. The Canarese Viceroy at Valliyūr, Othachy, had not forgotten the aim of his brother, whose daughter yet remained a virgin, expecting to obtain the hand of Kulasêkhara. Information reached him of the movement of Kulasêkhara. He collected a large army and encamped at Muppandal close to the present frontiers of Travancore. On hearing this, the Pandyan prepared himself to meet him, and at the same time detatched a force to Kôttâr that it may not be taken by a *coup de main* . The Mysoreans gradually approached the fort of Thōvālai and besieged it. A cannonade was opened and at last a breach was made in the wall. The Canarese men entered the fort and a fierce encounter took place. The Pandyan men wavered. While the zeal was flagging, timely assistance was afforded by the archers of Quilon and the lancers composed of the Ambalapulai Panikers. The situation was changed. The Mysoreans now faltered. They were routed and driven as far as Iḷangulam (இளங்குளம்) and their leader was left dead in the field. After this victory Kulasêkhara re-entered the fort of Vaḷḷiyūr and took charge of his lost kingdom.

Third Campaign:—Due intimation was conveyed to the Canarese king at Mysore of what had transpired. It was too much for him to bear, He at once started with a large army vowing vengeance, traversed the Chola and Pandyan countries as fast as he could, reached Mankaikād (மங்கைக்காடு), united his forces with those of his late brother and engaged the Pandyan army on the plains of Mānāmguḷam (மானாங்குளம்) and fought valiantly. Kulasêkhara and his brother knew that they were fighting for their life, and they behaved therefore in the battlefield with admirable courage. The carnage was terrible. Pachai-Perumal and Peria-Odayar, two of the brothers of Kulasêkhara, sacrificed their lives heroically. This proved an incentive to the Pandyan and his surviving brothers to fight more valiantly. They went on hacking to pieces the enemy's men. The bloodshed was terrible. But the opposing forces were overwhelming. The Pandyan applied to Chêra for assistance, but for some unaccountable reason it was not granted. At last he was compelled to retreat to Vaḷḷiyūr towards evening. Very early on the following morning he left it for his fastness with his immediate followers, and his valuables, leaving his remaining brothers and generals to continue the fight; at dawn on the following day hostilities were resumed, and they were carried on with the same vigour as on the previous day. The brothers and the leading generals except Kālingavillan (காலிங்கவில்லன்) fell fighting desperately.

On receiving intimation of the long expected catastrophe, Kulasêkhara thought that it was but right that he should proceed to the battlefield and take up the command of the army; but he felt that he was not destined to return. He therefore summoned all his seven wives to the side of the tank where he used to perform his ablutions, mentioned to them the errand on which he was going and requested them to remain in the fort with peace of mind till his return. But they knew what was to happen to their lord and king, and

told him that they would rather lay their hand on their own lives, than be in a state of suspense. The king then assured them of meeting them in a week's time in a different sphere, and assented to the course proposed to be adopted by them. At this, the ladies entered the tank and drowned themselves. When the king was sure that life was extinct he caused the bodies to be placed on funeral pyres. After they were reduced to ashes, and performing the necessary rites, he found that he greatly relieved in mind and proceeded to the battle-field. There he found his faithful minister and commander-in-chief, Kālingavillan, awaiting his arrival. He requested the Pandyan for permission to take the command and it was granted. He fought most bravely for hours and brought down with his hand many heroes, and he himself succumbed at last. It was then the turn of Kulasêkhara, and he performed his duty with alacrity, and fought with the courage characteristic of his race. The Canarese king knew what the Pandyan was about, and warned his men against doing any harm in any way to his person. To enable them to approach him and sieze him without harming him, and themselves, he enjoined them to wearmail-coats. After a sanguinary encounter they surrounded him, made a captive of him put him in a palanquin, closed it carefuly and took the valuable prize to their master. In the flush of success it did not occur to the Canarese warriors, to disarm their prisoner. For he had a pocket knife, and with it he cut his throat on the way, and put an end to his life. As soon as the Pandyan was made a prisoner, that news was conveyed to the camp of the Canarese king, where he and his daughter were rejoicing over the event and loaded with presents those who took the glad tidings. The precious treasure in the palanquin was being momentarily expected, and when it reached the royal presence what was found was only the mortal remains of the last of the Pandyans. The princess viewed it with composure and realized that the account given to her by the ministrels of the personal accomplishments of

Kulasêkhara was in no way exaggerated. She reconciled herself to her fate, and requested her father to cremate the body and allow her to ascend the funeral pyre, as if she were the wedded wife of the Pandyan. It was granted and another tragedy was brought to a close.

The account which has just been concluded is no fable. Though the manuscripts are full of exaggerations and supernaturalisms, I have sifted what I considered to be historical facts. The three South Indian dynasties were connected with one another from time immemorial by marriage, and about the eleventh century A. D. the Chola and the Pandyan became merged into one another. At the present moment no traces of them are to be found anywhere, for both the races have become extinct. Owing to conquest and other causes the original stock was corrupted and the hybrids of the main lines ceased to exist early, while the collaterals lingered here and there with a show of some vitality. These also collapsed as in the case of the Pandyan family at Vaḷḷiyūr.

TAMIL PROVERBS*

BY

THE REV. DR. J. LAZARUS

The Tamil language abounds in proverbs. The people take special delight in quoting them. The fact that about 10,000 old sayings and similes that were published in my work, under the title of *Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs* proves the richness of Tamil proverbial literature. No one can speak to a Tamilian without coming across a proverb or two. This is especially the case with Tamil women. Whether for purposes of approval or rebuke, satire or appeal, figure or illustration, truth or precept, or even mere negation or assertion, a proverb is ever at their command. Old women are so very familiar with them that they often argue by means of proverbs. Even 'yes' and 'no' are expressed in similes. This desire on the part of the people for the constant use of proverbs in ordinary talk, on the one hand, and the wealth of their poetic as well as proverbial literature, on the other, indicate the great antiquity and poetic nature of the Tamil people. It is said that the members of the Madura College used to ask and answer questions in perfect verse.

A proverb has been defined as the 'wisdom of many and the wit of one.' Ray, who was the first to publish a complete list of English proverbs, defines a proverb as 'a short sentence or pharse in common use, containing some trope, figure, homonym, rhyme or other novelty of expression.' The Tamil word for proverb means simply 'an old saying'; which is in itself an excellent definition.

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The most usual, and, in my opinion, the best form of a Tamil proverb is an iambic tetrameter, with a rhyme in the first and third feet. Thus, *agattil alagu mugattil teriyum*, 'the beauty of the mind is seen in the face.' Sometimes alliteration takes the place of the rhyme as in the following: *káytta maram kalladi padum*, 'it is the tree laden with fruit that is pelted with stones.' The saying may be destitute of both these ornaments, as in, *âru kadantâl nîyár nánár?* 'after the river is crossed, who are you and who am I?' Still there is a rhythm which gives it grace and smoothness. Some proverbs are also double tetrameters, while others again are simple dimeters. But whatever form a proverb may assume, there is always something peculiar in its construction— which distinguishes it from an ordinary Tamil sentence.

Tamil proverbs have mostly a grammar of their own. Their grammar is chiefly poetic, though often it is also colloquial. The subject and predicate are frequently transposed, case-endings and other particles omitted. There are proverbs in which the subject or predicate is understood. Even corruptions are admissible. It will sometimes be very difficult to make out the case of a noun, especially when there are two or more in the same saying. The passive voice is conspicuous by its absence. It is quite repugnant to the genius of the language. Occasionally even rare words will be met with. To foreigners, therefore, the study of this literature will prove an excellent aid in mastering the principles of colloquial grammar, which is after all the grammar of nine-tenths of the people.

As regards antiquity, Tamil proverbs may be divided into three classes, *viz.*, ancient, middle-aged and modern. Ancient proverbs consist entirely of pure Tamil words without any mixture of Sanskrit. These make up a large proportion, and embrace, for the most part, the opinions, ethics, and customs of the ancient Tamil people. Some of them are so very ancient that some of the words employed are now obsolete.

In these no trace of Brahmanical influence can be found. It must be remembered that the Tamil people are converts to Brahmanism, or rather Hinduism as it is now called. Proverbs which have come into use after this conversion belong to the middle ages, and, as may be expected, contain a large number of Sanskrit words. These, however, are not more than a few hundred. A careful study of them will show that the popular verdict is not quite in favour of the Aryan cult. Modern proverbs are still fewer. They relate chiefly to political and agricultural subjects. Some famous Mussulmans and Europeans have been the occasion of a few sayings which by the way reflect little or no credit on them.

An enquiry into the teaching of these proverbs ought to find a place here. Taken all in all, this branch of Tamil literature may be called an encyclopædia of Tamil wisdom. They deal with almost every conceivable subject under the sun. Nothing worthy of note seems to have escaped the insight or scrutiny of the Tamil observer. God and man, beast and bird, trees and plants, morality as it affects every condition of life and society, the various departments of human industry and activity, domestic and social relationships, the spheres of hygiene and economy, manners and customs, common sense and wordly wisdom, human follies and vices, and others too numerous to mention, have become the origin of many a pithy proverb.

On the all-important subject of morality, their message is as noble as it is wide, as lofty as it is deep. The realm of motives has not been left unexplored by the wise among the Tamil people. The second table in the decalogue has been fully anticipated. As regards positive virtues, they speak in no uncertain tone. 'Where there is love, even the impossible becomes possible.' 'The meek shall rule the earth.' 'Benevolence has ruined none in the world.' 'There is no heaven to those who are merciless.' 'If you want heavenly bliss, give up sensual pleasure.' 'Waste not even a

moment.' 'Greatness is always humble.' 'The industrious will never be disgraced.' 'A tree shelters him who fells it.' 'Virtue is its own reward.' 'Silence is worth a thousand.' 'Though it be *ambrosia*, share it with a guest.' 'Is a flower to be squeezed and smelt?' 'The tears of the poor are like a sharp-edged sword.' These are only a few picked up at random.

But what have these proverbs to say about God? Very little indeed. There are more sayings on demons than the Deity. While it is strange that they say so little about their Maker, it must be said to the credit of the Tamils that they have not speculated, like their Aryan proselytizers, on a subject about which they could know or learn little or nothing. The fact that the Tamil word *Kadavul* (God) does not once occur in the whole range of this literature proves its comparatively recent origin. In the few proverbs which antiquity has bequeathed to us, the term for God is *Aiyan*; as in *Aiyan alanta padi*, 'as God has decreed;' *çàkku pôkku çellatu Aiyan mun*, 'no excuses will avail with God'; *Aiyan amaippai árálum talla küdatu*. 'no one can violate God's order.' The other sayings in which a Sanskrit term, *Teyvam*, is employed, belong to the middle period. *Aiyan*, then, is the ancient Tamil term for God. It is derived from *Ai*, 'father,' *an* being the masculine termination. Thus God was the Father, *par excellence*, to the Tamil people. Their theology was of the simplest kind. They believed in a moral Governor of the Universe, whose will was law, whose decrees were irrevokable and whom they called their Father—a fact over which Professor Max Muller would have rejoiced with all his heart.* Compare the following: 'He is present before we think (of him) and grants what we desire.' God is also called *Talaivan*, the Chief One, and *Munnavan*, the first One, as in *Tannai arintavan Talaivanai arivân*, 'he who knows

There are indeed a few sayings of the middle period in which *Aiyanar* is used as a term for an inferior god.

himself will know God'; and *Munnavanê mun nintal mudiyàta porul undô*, 'if God be with us, what is impossible ?'

Next to theology comes ethics. Like the former, the latter was exceedingly simple. There is no reference in the ancient proverbs to Vedas or Shastras. The light of conscience seems to have been their only guide. It would have been well if these people had been left to their simple beliefs and practices. Conscience they call *nenju*. *Nenjariya poy collalama*, 'Can you lie against your conscience ?' *Kuttamulla nenju kuru kuru ennum*, 'a guilty conscience cannot keep quiet.' But it was very difficult for them to follow this good monitor within. There are many sayings which refer to this universal weakness. 'If you speak the truth, you become an enemy of the village.' 'Seek the approval of your conscience, not that of the village.' 'Even in a healed sore, there will be some matter left.' 'Conscience makes cowards of us all.' 'Fear guilt.' 'Rather die than lose your honour.' It is no wonder that in later days when earnest and truth-seeking Tamil poets came to think for themselves and found no proper remedy for sin, they sang in the way they did and declaimed against the empty ceremonialism and idolatrous practices of their countrymen.

Regarding the wisdom and general good sense of the Tamilians their proverbs afford abundant proof. The results of their ripe experience and careful observation they have embodied in sayings which have seldom been surpassed for their beauty or force—not to speak of the rare truths they convey. Here are a few. 'Though the rain has stopped, the tree rain has not.' 'You can stop a boiling pot, but not the mouth of the village.' 'A king and fire are alike.' 'Desire has no limit.' 'Cupid has no eyes.' 'There is no cure for the disease called desire.' 'The bullock thinks of its pain, the crow thinks of its hunger.' 'There is neither birth nor diminution without a cause.' 'What is known to one is private, what is known to two is public.' 'What is not pinched with a nail must be

split with an axe.' 'Do you need a mirror to look at a sore in the hand?' 'What the eye sees, the hand can do.' 'Sandal-wood, even when rubbed down to a stick, will not lose its fragrance.' 'To the cow on this bank, the other looks greener.' 'No pains, no gains.' 'Do not give up the good for the sake of the old.' 'One snake knows another's foot-prints.' 'The poison of a snake is in its fangs, but that of a prostitute is all over her body.' 'The hare which has escaped is a great one.' 'If you write 'sugar' and lick it, will it taste sweet?' 'Reciting the Vedas before a springing bull.' 'Having swallowed a mountain and brought forth a mouse.' 'One's mouth makes one great or small.' 'For the friendship of two, the patience of one is necessary.' These will suffice. Comment is needless.

A great many proverbs, again, are flashes of wit or sarcasm. I am inclined to think that such proverbs have mostly originated with women. There is a great deal of brilliant humour hidden beneath the mild and simple countenance of a Tamil woman, which can only be known to those who are familiar with Tamil people of both the sexes. The people as a rule delight in sarcasm, and seldom quote a proverb but to hit it off on the opponent. Indecent haste, for example, is ridiculed by the following; 'Undressing oneself when the river is still ten miles off.' One who is prone to extremes is compared to the 'barber who either shaves the head clean or leaves the tuft (kudimi).' 'Gauging the depth of the sea with a fox's tail.' 'Selling grass in a flower-market.' 'He is willing to cross the sea, but he has no legs to cross the drain with.' 'When I say, 'come to dine,' you come to box.' 'The mouth is sugar-cane, the hand is iron.' 'When the house is on fire, he wants to light his cigar.' 'Like sinking a well to put out a fire.' 'He offered the Asvamedha sacrifice in an uninhabited village.' 'Half an anna whip for a thousand rupees horse.' 'Going for the gift of child-birth and giving up her husband.' Shakespeare's remark that the

'apparel oft makes the man' applies with much force to these proverbs, for the terse and beautiful language in which they are clothed is entirely lost in the translation.

The picture portrayed by these proverbs, exhibiting both the dark and bright sides of woman, would make an interesting study. Let us first glance at the bright side of the picture. "A wife is the ornament of the house.' 'A house without a wife is a burning ground.' 'Even the devil will pity a woman.' 'What can the farmer do? The blessing belongs to her who holds the pot.' 'A wife is her own dowry.' 'A woman who gives her daughter for a wife is like God who gives a pair of eyes.' 'A house without the creeper (called) wife is a desert.' 'A man without a wife is only half a man.' 'Punish your son, but be kind to your daughter.' It must be observed that all this praise is bestowed on woman in her capacity of wife. For the unmarried woman, their feeling is one of pity and blame. Marriage is the *summum bonum* of woman; not to realize this 'chief end' of her is a curse and a calamity. On the other hand, feminine defects also find their expression in many apt and unkind sayings. 'Don't confide your secrets to your wife.' 'A woman's thoughts are afterthoughts.' 'A working woman's pretext is her child.' 'Never listen to your wife's counsel.' 'Moderate food is becoming to a woman.' 'Rather give room to a devil than a woman.' 'All married women are not wives.' 'A mother-in-law for a girl and a tutor for a boy.'

The east is notorious for the ill-treatment of a young wife by her mother-in-law. Early marriage is the cause of this great evil. The girl-wife, unable to keep house for herself, has to undergo training under her mother-in-law. The consequent animosity between the two, therefore, has given rise to scores of proverbs. Some belong to the mother-in-law, and others to the daughter-in-law. And they are well balanced. 'What the mother-in-law breaks is an earthen pot, what the daughter-in-law breaks is a gold vessel.' 'When will my

mother-in-law die, and I shall be rid of my sorrow?' 'Though my mother-in-law may become friendly, her rice-pot will not.' Now for the mother-in-law's aphorisms! 'Never mind if my son dies, my daughter-in-law must become a widow.' 'There were tears in her eyes six months after her mother-in-law's death.' 'Though a daughter-in-law of gold, she needs at least a mother-in-law of earth.'

From the number of proverbs that are current regarding Brahmins and Pariahs, the two extremes of modern Tamil society, and other classes such as Tradesmen, Shepherds and Artisans, I infer that by far the greater portion of these sayings were uttered by the great body of Tamil farmers, known otherwise as the Vellàlas of South India. They are the backbone of the Tamil nation. Though homage continues to be paid to the Brahmin, the proverbs relating to him give the lie to it. They are either sarcastic or disrespectful. For example, 'Like the brahmin woman who has lost her salted meat.' 'Are there poor among Brahmins and cows?' 'Avoid a Brahmin's service.' 'Six Brahmins have (only) two eyes.' 'The Saiva Brahmin freely eats, but the mendicant has to fight.' 'Are there gentle cows and meek Brahmins?' As may be expected, Tamil opinion of Pariahs is by no means favourable. 'Pariah work is half work.' 'Pariah judgment is half judgment.' 'Even if a Pariah child is sent to school, it cannot be cured of its ugly accent.' 'Pariah song and Pariah talk, like the Curai flower, are destitute of fragrance.' But in their more sober moments they think better of them; for, 'For fresh paddy one may serve even a Pariah.' 'If a Pariah makes an offering, will not God accept it?'

A great deal also may be learnt from these sayings regarding the ancient condition and civilization, and manners and customs of these interesting people. 'An oven consists of three stones.' 'Rice is their staple food.' They also use ragi. A boy marries the daughter of his paternal aunt or maternal

uncle. The wife eats what the husband leaves. Alms-giving is a favourite custom, and beggars are feasted on new moon days. Their widows do not marry. They have dramatic performances. They make a large use of home remedies and have not much belief in the doctor; for 'he who has killed a thousand lives is half a doctor.' July and August are the sowing season. 'A man without clothes is half a man.' They have a great dread of the tax-collector. Famines were of frequent occurrence, 'when children were sold.' Otherwise they had twenty-one rains in the year. They were quite familiar with gold and silver, copper and brass, iron and lead, and even struck their own coins. Their dead, they both buried and burnt. For 'habits formed in the cradle last till (you reach) the burning ground;' and 'a child in the grave is a child in the womb.' At funerals they paid women to weep and beat their breasts. Strange to say, even Sati seems to have been forced upon them; they ask, 'Will she who cannot bathe in tepid water ascend the funeral pile?' The country was infected with robbers, in spite of which they devoted themselves to the acquisition of wealth and learning. They performed pilgrimages (of course after conversion to Brahmanism), but the general opinion was unfavourable. 'Though I have been to Cási, my sin has not gone.' Their women are fond of jewels, for 'adorning the ear beautifies the face.' They bathe before their meal; for 'though it is ragi pottage, drink it after a bath; though it is a rag, wear it after washing it.' They were ruled by kings who wore crowns, held sceptres, imposed taxes and protected their subjects, but were very changeable in their moods. They were not so far civilized as to commit suicide. They ask, 'Who would wilfully poison himself?' They delighted in different kinds of chase, and were quite familiar with swords and spears, bows and arrows. They rode on horses and elephants and owned ships, boats rafts. They were given to demonolatry and devil dancing. These outlines may be easily filled up as one likes by a further study of this literature.

This literature is also an excellent store-house for the notions, beliefs and superstitions of the Tamil people. It affords a clear insight into their innermost thoughts and indicates the height to which they have risen in the exercise of their judgment. The following proverbs may serve as specimens. 'Cakes of ashes for coins of earth.' 'The minister foretells future events.' 'Medicine is one-fourth, common sense three-fourths.' 'Numberless persons have died from draughts of fancied milk.' 'Young fish need no instruction in the art of swimming.' 'Never draw on your capital.' 'First catch the goat and then the cow.' 'To look (well), one needs a thousand eyes.' 'No *guru* can change character.' 'Pride is a basketful, but if it is well-shaken, there will be nothing left.' 'The goddess of fortune resides in the foot that walks, that of misfortune in the foot that keeps still.' 'A bad man will not reform, though he bathes in the Ganges.' 'It is a disgrace to be fed by one's children.' 'The lips drop fruit, while the mind burns with rage.'

Now for a few of their superstitions. 'Passion at thirty, and refinement at forty.' 'A dog's nature at forty.' 'The tenth child lays the mother on the bier.' 'It is a great luck if the fifth born is a girl.' The eighth child should not be a daughter; also the fourth. 'Poisons cannot kill the godly., 'A slender person is venomous.' 'Knowledge at fifty modesty at sixty and nothing after that.' 'Don't set out on a Tuesday.' 'A fatal malady will not yield to medicine.' 'Gold may be lent, but not flowers.' 'There is luck when sneezing is returned.' 'Though your bath may remove the oil, it cannot get rid of the writing.' This refers to Brahma's writing on the forehead. 'No feast, no friendship,' applies to Tamil as well as other nations. 'Feed kites even by begging.' 'If you eat *trash*, you will live a hundred years,' is a maxim which is open to question. 'Those who have a disease, have a demon,' expresses the impatience and fretfulness of a patient. 'Though a woman may resemble a celestial, clad in cloth upon cloth, if she can write, she must

be rejected,' condemns female education in strong language. Their partiality for male children is implied in the following question, 'Is the child (only) a span, is it not a male child?' 'Medicine must be given till the life departs' shews Tamil faith in the efficacy of medicine. Saturday, with them, is always an unlucky day; and Saturn, who presides over this day, is the chief god of evil. This superstition has given rise to many sayings of the middle period. 'A woman under the influence of Saturn cannot get a husband even in the weekly market.' 'A death on a Saturday will be followed by many deaths.' 'Bathe every Saturday'—as if to wash off the evil of the whole week. Belief in Yama, the Hindu Pluto, has given expression to many current sayings. A clever man is said to 'make a cake even of Yama, if he has a good opportunity.' 'What is there between a *Samana Sanyasi* and a dhoby?' None; because the former always goes naked. The Jains kill no living thing; and so they speak of a 'cloth-louse in the hand of a Jain,' meaning thereby that even an evil person may obtain protection. When something essential has been omitted, they say, 'He forgot to tie the *tali* (the Indian equivalent for the ring) in the noise of the wedding.' They marry their daughters before their sons; for they ask, 'Is the son to be married while there is a maid in the house?' Something very rare is compared to the sight of the 'first crescent in *Karthikay* (November—December).' The Tamil people seem to have been addicted to bigamy. One of two wives calls the other 'joint house-holder,' which is now a term of abuse.

The fact that they have as many as fifty sayings about thieves shews that theft must have been quite a common calamity among them. The thief's wife as well as the thief goes in for shares in these sayings.

There is such a thing as caste-keeping in Tamil proverbs. Lord Chesterfield went even further; for he deprecated the very mention of proverbs in company. It marked ill-breeding.

As education advances the use of proverbs decreases. This is the tendency of the times. In educated circles proverbs are but rarely quoted. The tendency is rather in the line of uttering new aphorisms than quoting old ones. Tamil people, however, have not yet attained to this desirable stage of education. Hence their free and frequent use of old sayings. But in a caste-ridden country like India, one may expect the spirit of caste to affect even the choice and use of these sayings. Certain proverbs are confined, in use, to certain classes, and if uttered in the presence of others, would be considered an insult. Certain proverbs, again, are current only among certain castes or out-castes, such as artisans, smiths, merchants, &c. Proverbs in use among women are quite out of place among men. Still it is true that some of these sayings have gained such force as universal truths that their use has gradually extended to the whole nation. But this is only an exception to the rule. Foreigners who are not aware of this caste-spirit as regards the use of proverbs, after they have learnt a score or two, begin to use them without discrimination, without regard to time, place and circumstances; this often excites the ridicule of the people whose instincts on this point are unusually keen. For example, a saying like, 'He who has the Palar will not be afraid of a guest,' can have no force among those who have not seen or heard of this river. It belongs to a class of local proverbs. 'If gold and cloth are removed, a woman is but a nest of filth,' cannot with propriety be quoted in refined society. A Brahmin would close both his ears against a proverb like, 'Though one may eat flesh, is it necessary to wear the bones as a garland round one's neck?' Nor would a Pariah profit by being told that 'He speaks with gingely seeds and water in his hand.' Likewise, what foreigner can understand the meaning of 'what has been done in the little room will be revealed in the Srimantam,' unless both the custom and the ceremony alluded to in the saying are fully explained to him? 'Test the good by their tongue and gold by the touch alone,'

has its origin in the goldsmith's craft. The equivalent proverb for 'doing a great evil in secret' cannot be uttered in any respectable company.

Speaking of caste among proverbs, it is worthy of notice, that caste among the people, as now understood and practised, was quite unknown in pre-Aryan days. There is no Tamil word for 'caste'; nor are there any references to the institution except in modern sayings, where Sanskrit terms, such as *jati, varana* and *kula* are employed. In *Inattai inam taruvum,* இனத்தை யினந் தழுவும் relatives embrace each other, the reference to relationship is unmistakable.

Certain proverbs are also allusions to well-known stories and characters. Even Indian myths have given rise to a few. In the following there is allusion to two famous personages. 'In society he is a Nakkiran, in rule, a Vichcheran.' 'Cupid's eyes are everywhere,' is another way of describing his blindness. 'As if Saguni appeared before the Pandus,' illustrates the appearance of a new foe. 'What was Sita to Rama?' refers to the ignorance of a stupid listener. 'The birth of Sita was the destruction of Lanka' needs no comment. The application is no less plain. Place cannot make the man; for 'Though a crow of Srirangam, can it say 'Govinda'?' 'Festivals are held as long as Perumal exists,' explains the origin of religious feasts. Montgomery came and it rained gold.' is an allusion to Governor Montgomery; while 'Elliot's concubine, she is so tender and nice,' is a similar allusion, but reflecting discredit on the latter's character. Of the unfortunate they say, 'Though Kuvera's city may be plundered, the unfortunates will not get even a laddle-stick.' No one will injure an honest man; for 'Though Elêlasingan's goods go across the seven seas, they will return safely'; Elêlasingan was the merchant friend of Tiruvalluvar. 'Ravana Sannyasi' means a religious hypocrite. The allusion is to Ravana's disguise as Maricha in the presence of Sita. There are several allusions to Rama descriptive of

friendship and faithfulness. Immediate profits are illustrated by the saying 'The worship of Ganapati pays at once.' 'Desing's heaven' alludes to a recent well-known historical event. A fomenter of dissensions is addressed as follows, 'Narada, fond of feuds!' A smart reply is illustrated by the following question and reply: 'Appaji! No salt.' When a king and his minister were out for a walk, the former smelt a curry and said, 'Appaji?' 'No salt' was the prompt reply. The minister proved to be a correct thought-reader. 'Valmiki for the forest, and Vayasa for war,' is an allusion to the respective authors of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. There is a similiar allusion in 'Vijaya for the bow and Nakula for the horse.' 'Living like Cupid and Venus' is symbolic of conjugal bliss. The following is a very modern saying but it hits off official delays: 'When it is reported that the Mylapore tank has brust its embankment, the reply is that we shall consider it at the next meeting of Committee.' 'Will Varuna rain only on one section of the people?' is an allusion to the impartiality of the God of rain. 'Rejecting with a kick the Goddess of Fortune who has come of her own accord' is more forcible than 'Looking a gift horse in the mouth.'

A careful study of Tamil proverbial lore will also afford some proof of philosophical research on the part of these simple people. The mind and its operations seem to have been analysed and described by appropriate names. They have their own terms for the mind, will, judgment, memory, imagination, understanding, motive, feeling and emotion, not one of which is to be traced to Aryan cult. The *mind* itself was named in two ways, *viz.*, *ullam* and *nenju*, meaning literally the *inner* and the *larynx*. The former is used for a more passive, and the latter for a more active state of the soul. The difference between the ego and non-ego has been clearly perceived and stated with emphasis. The line of demarcation is preserved even in every day life. It is not

'I am sick,' but 'my body is ill.' The 'body' is something I have 'assumed,' or, to be more consistent with its literal import, what I have 'clad' myself in. The body is also a 'nest' from which the spirit-bird takes its flight. 'The world exists as long as self exists,' is, in other words, 'no self—no world.' The world is the creation of the self. This is rather idealistic; at any rate, self-consciousness is emphasized. Unlike later theories resulting from conversion to Brahmanism and the philosophy of the Upanishads, the Tamil understood himself to be a conscious ego, quite distinct from the non-ego on the one hand, and the 'Father' on the other. For the 'soul,' they have a word 'âvi' which corresponds exactly to the Latin 'spirit.' It is used for both life and the self-conscious soul. What but very careful research could have discovered the fact that 'There is only a finger's breadth distance between truth and falsehood?'.........

Tamil philology, derives no little help from proverbs. Where they reflect the language and sentiments of the people in their pre-Aryan days, the study of this science will be found specially interesting. The richness of the language is best seen in this connection. Words which are becoming rare or obsolete, simply because they have been superseded by Sanskrit substitutes, find their legitimate place and use in these old sayings, affording, as it were, a special plea for their restoration. There are, for instance, three distinct Tamil words for *king*, all of which are now either obsolete or relegated to poetry. *Kô* is preserved in *kovil*, a temple and seems to be a distant relation of the European *king*. The other two, *viz.*, *Vêntu* and *mannan* are no longer in ordinary use, their place being usurped by the Sanskrit *râja*, both in its *tatsama* and *tadbhava* forms. The existence, however, of three names for one and the same object bespeaks the thoughtful character of the Tamils, and the progressive tendency of their tongue. It also shews the early civilization of the people and the different kinds of rulers under whom they

lived. The original word for 'water,' *nîr,* has gone quite out of daily use, while a compound taṇṇîr' has taken its place. This compound means 'cold water,' so that when a Tamil speaks of 'water,' he actually uses the word for 'cold water,' though in his mind there is not the least reference to temperature. The people's partiality for a cool drink in a hot climate accounts for the compound term gradually superseding the original.

It may be surprising to many to learn that the Tamil people have no name for a lamp. The word used in the proverbs and still in current use is a verb used as a noun and means to declare, brighten, polish. And thus when they got an article which removed darkness and made things visible and bright they called it *vilakku*, the 'declarer.' As a simple people living mostly in the fields and doing all their work by day, the idea of a lamp for the night—beyond the oven which burns in a corner of the cottage—would not naturally occur to them. That it was an importation appears not only from the name they have coined, but also from the following amusing story:—Certain people from a rural district went on a visit to their relations who happened to live in a 'town' and noticing a lamp (an orthodox lamp is a tiny mud vessel for the oil and wick) burning in a niche, and being greatly delighted and surprised at the new article, one of them asked the host what it was. The reply was that it was a young one of the Sun. The rustic of course coveted the bright little 'young one,' and determined to carry it off to his village. But to make it sure, when the people went to sleep, he took it and hid it away in the thatched roof, and the next moment the whole cottage was in flames. Lamp-lighting has thus acquired so much importance that in proverbial language to 'light a lamp in one's house' is to settle one in life. The term for husband is the 'purchaser,' and clearly alludes to the ancient custom—still in vogue—of paying a price for a wife. For 'house' there are four words, all Tamil *viz.*, *il*,

ayam, *manai* and *vîdu*, of which the last seems the most modern, while the first has passed into Telugu currency.

The sayings of the Tamil people on Hygiene and other kindred subjects are worthy of note as shewing the advance they made in medical lore, and the accuracy or otherwise of their observation in this connection. With them 'medicine is to be taken three times.' 'Take medicine at sun-set.' 'Bael fruit is the antidote for (excessive) bile.' Castor-oil is a favourite remedy for children. 'Poison is the best antidote to poison.' 'If eaten to excess, even nectar is poison.' They attach great importance to margosa (neem) oil. The bark of the vêl tree cures scrofulous complaints. 'Faith is necessary for the efficacy of medicine.' 'Two persons to be feared are the doctor and the ruffian.' 'Whatever the doctor prescribes is medicine.' 'A doctor cannot cure himself., They had seen so much evil from taking medicine that they exclaimed, 'Is it medicine, or madness?' They believe only 'a fourth of the doctor's words.' After all 'Home remedies are better than the doctor's.' The whole village is friendly to the doctor. Their name for sickness is simply pain—*nôy*. Common people need no medicine, for 'Street dust is medicine for a donkey's ulcer.' 'When the dhoby is ill, he must go to his stone.'

Turning to hygiene it is satisfactory to know that they believe in slow eating; for 'If you eat little by little, you can eat up even a mountain.' To women they allow less food than men. Still, 'Moderate food is the joy of the soul.' Disappointment makes a person swell. 'A nursing mother has a very good appetite.' 'Eat nutritious food.' Those who eat well, look well. Even the pious feel drowsy after meals. 'Refreshments are very agreeable.' 'There is a forty days' chance for a good life.' 'If a patient has appetite, he will not die.' 'A barren woman will become fruitful, if she drink rice and water and stays at home.' 'Food without ghee is useless.' 'The way to eat is to melt the ghee, increase the

butter-milk and decrease the water.' 'Hunger knows no taste, nor sleep comfort.' 'He who has drunk milk belches with milk, and he who has drunk toddy belches with toddy,' contains a double truth, both hygienic and moral. They believe in burning an ulcer, for 'an ulcer that has been burnt will do no harm.' Likewise 'an ulcer heals by free lancing.' 'One-self is the remedy for one's illness' proves the practical wisdom of the people, by urging self-reliance even in cases of distress. 'Sugar-cane tasting bitter is the fault of the month,' cuts both ways, figuratively as well as literally.

Translators, and especially those of a high order who seek to interpret not merely the words but the thoughts of one nation into the language of another, and *vice versa*, will find an almost inexhaustible mine of help in this literature. A daily study of it will enable the translator to grasp the inner workings of the Tamil mind and the words and phrases by which it naturally gives expression to them. As 'The face is the mirror of the heart,' so proverbs may be said to be the mirror of the national mind. The exact meaning and usage of words is to be obtained not so much in books as in the proverbial language of the people. It must not be forgotten that Tamil is as poor in prose as it is rich in poetry. Modern prose style has not much to commend it. It is more or less artificial and laden with Sanskrit and religious technicalities. The style of proverbs, on the contrary, is instinctive. It leaps forth with a force and freedom only equalled by its terseness and elegance. In appeals to the heart or national conscience, its power is marvellous. In the midst of confusion, or an excited controversy, a suitable proverb or two acts like oil on troubled waters. The literature, besides, abounds in phrases and turns of expression, smiles and metaphors, even happy hyperboles and 'dire darts' of sarcasm, which must be of the greatest value to one in search of terms fitted to express a particular shade of thought, awaken a desired emotion, or convey a foreign figure into language at

once intelligible and attractive. In lexicon, a word stands alone; in a proverb it has its natural setting as in a mosaic. It is therefore no less the duty of the translator than the scholar to make himself familiar with, or, master, if possible, of this thesaurus of Tamil words and phrases. For a long time to come, and until a truly, idiomatic native style is created by the appearance of model prose writers keeping march with the advance of thought and knowledge, the style of this indigenous literature will hold the field as being the best fitted to move the popular mind and mould its ideas. 'The voice of the people is the voice of God' is itself a Tamil proverb.

Let me quote but a few examples. ' *Tûnilum iruppân turumpilum iruppân*, (God) is in both the pillar and the straw. The words used for 'pillar' and 'straw' are a popular phrase expressing completeness, from the biggest to the smalles article in a house. 'He makes a pillar of straw' indicates an exaggerating tendency. 'Distant green is delightful to the eye' is a happy equivalent of the English poet's line, ''Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.' 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump' is elegantly rendered by *kala-pâlukku tuli-pirai*, 'a drop of leaven for a *kalam* of milk.' Backing out of an engagement is well expressed by 'drawing back the foot which has been placed in the front.' Compare a 'horse's horn' with a 'mare's nest.'

The Tamil people seem to have been very careful observers of the ways and habits of animals from the elephant down to the ant. The proverbs relating to them embody many a useful lesson. The elephant, which is a native of South India, has evidently made a deep impression on the Tamil mind. Its enormous size and prodigious strength, its great capacity for work of all kinds, the smallness and keenness of its eyes, the commercial value of its body, its polydexterous trunk, its many excellent qualities, not to speak of its tamableness and obedience, have contributed rather more than a

hundred proverbs to colloquial literature. The following 'hints' will give an idea of the truths and lessons drawn from this huge creature, 'Seeking one's own ruin.' 'Essentials different from accidentals.' 'Missing things not to be sought in unlikely places.' 'Even the great may slip.' 'The great fear no obstacles.' 'A time for everything.' 'Gain in proportion to capital.' 'Great gulfs not easily bridged.' 'Losing big things to save small.' 'Caught between two great foes.' 'Even trifles may become great obstacles.' 'Right means *versus* wrong ones.' 'Like men blind from birth striking one another after *seeing* an elephant' refers to a story as well known as it is instructive that I am tempted to relate it here. Four men blind from birth desired to *see* an elephant. Being lend to its side each began to feel about the animal at the portion nearest to him. One touched its legs, another its tail, a third its ears and the last its trunk, each forming his own ideas of the elephant. Returning home they began to describe the creature among themselves. One said it was like a pillar; another contradicted him saying it was more like a broom; the next contradicted both, and asserted that was neither a pillar nor a broom, but a sieve; while the last boasted that all three were wrong, for it was like a pestle or rice pounder. The saying is usually applied to misconceptions arising from partial views of an object, or subject, especially those about the nature and attributes of the Divine Being.

The ant is the smallest living thing known to the naked eye of the Tamils. Of animalcule or baçilli they know nothing. They speak of '8,000 crores of creatures beginning with the ants.' While Solomon was impressed with the wisdom of this little creature, the Tamil sage has discovered that 'even a stone wears away by the constant creeping of an ant,' and applies it to plodding perseverance or continued influence. 'Ant bites' represent trifling injuries.

Space does not permit me to dwell on sayings regarding other animals. Tamil opinion of the ass is quite unfavourable.

The patience of the beast, so much extolled in English books, seems to have escaped their notice. To them it is invariably an emblem of stupidity, baseness, and even uselessness. In the Tamil country it is used only by washermen. But its milk is highly prized. It sells about 150 per cent dearer than cow's milk. Horses, dogs, oxen, cows, goats, monkeys, cats, rats, bats, snakes, tigers, bears, crocodiles, have also contributed, each in its way, to the literature of proverbs.

Among birds, the crow is best known. It is said 'to live on the remnants of human food and yet exist for a thousand years.' They are not aware of a white crow. 'To the crow, its young one is a golden bird,' is a well-known saying. They have a similar saying about the monkey. In their opinion, the former is noted for its blackness, and the latter for its ugliness. 'A single stone for a thousand crows,' is a forcible remark. The crow nurses the young ones of the cuckoo, which lays its eggs in its nest. The domestic fowl has also contributed a number of proverbs. Some are really beautiful. 'Will the treading of the hen make the chicken lame?' 'Becaue the hen is black, will its eggs be black also?' 'Not only is the fowl lost, but also the voice (throat).' 'Is it the crowing of the cock or the barking of the dog, that hails day-break?' The great pest of the Indian sleeper, the mosquito, and his stealthy companions, fleas and bugs, have received their due share of attention. 'Are we to remove for fear of mosquitoes?' contains an excellent moral. 'Straining the mosquito and swallowing the camel' is very much like the Scriptural proverb.

Trees play a very prominent part in a tropical region like South India. Many a useful and instructive saying has its origin in Indian trees. The banyan with its suspended roots and umbrageous branches, the peépul so similar to and yet different from the banyan, the favourite fig and the sacred margosa with its bitter fruit and medicinal leaves, the far—famed *nux vomico* the graceful areca palm and the

graceless palmyra, with the imported cocoa, the endless variety of fruit and food trees yielding their produce in regular succession from one end of the year to the other, the world-wide known lotus and jessamine, not to speak of countless shrubs and smaller plants, have enriched the proverbial literature of the land in no small measure. No one can understand the eastern saying. 'The righteous shall flourish like the palm,' who has not seen and studied the palmyra in its native soil. Bare and graceless as it looks, it is the most useful tree in the world. There is not a bit of it that is ever wasted. A whole cottage can be build with the materials yielded by the palmyra alone. I might write pages describing the uses of this valuable tropical palm. The cocoa palm which 'yields at the head what it receives at its foot,' is literally the 'southern' tree and is always an emblem of gratitude. A very rare occurrence is 'as if the fig tree blossomed'; this tree is peculiar in bearing without blossoms. The miser is compared to the *nux vomica*. 'Can the *nux vomica* become sweet, if watered with milk ?' reminds one of the Biblical saying "Can the leopard change his spots ?" The margosa also bears a bitter fruit, but its bitterness is nothing compared with that of the *nux vomica*. Its bitterness becomes reconciled by habit, and so some apparently disagreeable persons. For 'the more the margosa is liked, the more does it taste like sugar-cane.' 'Even margosa oil will be useful in a time of need.' 'Will money paid for margosa oil taste bitter ?'

The English 'betel' is merely a corruption of the Tamil *vettrilai*, 'the empty leaf.' The betel is not a native creeper, but an importation from Penang. It is a universal luxury after meals, when it is chewed with areca nuts and a little lime, it gives the tongue and lips a crimson hue, and is said to be an aid to digestion. The betel requires very tender cultivation. And so they say 'like water to the betel and saffron to the prostitute.' In the saying, 'Leaves protect

the tree and money one's honour,' they seem to be aware of the botanical fact that leaves are lungs to a tree. The Tamils have different names for the different stages through which their staple food has to pass. In the field it is *nel* (paddy), when the husk is removed, it is *arisi* (rice), and when it is cooked, it is *sôru*. 'What flows to the paddy flows also to the grass' may be compared to 'dogs eating the crumbs which fall from the table.' The Tamils ask, 'who ever hated rice and one's husband?' Selfishness is well exposed by the following, 'the elder sister's property is rice, but her younger sister's is bran.''

Laying aside all such sayings as are merely local and national, or embodying some popular prejudice or custom, let us consider those which are of a more or less universal nature, dealing with God, man, and morality. The ancient Tamil people seem to have been a highly moral race. They had a genuine admiration for truth and justice, honesty and humility, love and mercy, and abhorred every form of vice and hypocrisy. To a great extent their sayings must have been the results of their experience, as they are in the case of the proverbs of other nations; but there is also evidence to show that they explored the inner realm of motives, and sought a safer and higher authority for their utterances than the shifting sands of utility. The moral instinct seems never to have been dormant in the Tamil mind. To it is the final appeal, rather than the outward and tangible result of a moral or merciful act. Many of these sayings can bear comparision with those of the greatest sages the world has ever produced; some are worthy of the Divine Teacher Himself.

Philology has done a good work by proving the affinity of the Indo-European nations. But its work is not complete. Another and a greater Philologist than Max Müller has yet to appear who can by a still wider and deeper research prove that the Dravidian and the Mongol, the Hottentot and

the South Sea Islander, and the ancestors of nations called Indo-European, once spoke the same language and uttered the same sounds for the same ideas. Proverbs, however, go still further. They have already performed what Philology has yet to accomplish. Philology deals with words, while Proverbs deal with thoughts. They enable us to compare mind with mind and thought with thought, irrespective of the dress in which the thoughts may be clothed. And as a striking fact we find that the Dravidian and the Aryan have thought and felt alike on moral as well as mundane matters. They look up to the same 'Father,' appeal to the same 'Monitor,' assert the same virtues and condemn the same vices, notwithstanding the fact that the former is the more primitive branch of the human race. They have thus shared alike in the 'True light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'

Proverbs therefore have a mission of their own. Reflecting the relics of the Divine image which was originally stamped on the progenitors of the race, they bring its scattered branches into closer relationship as members of one and the same family, binding heart to heart, and soul to soul, and make them exclaim in one united voice, 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us. Beneath these marks of marvellous affinity, all distinctions of race and colour, and creed and clime vanish away. Even the boasted grandeur of advancing science leaps aside, and lays bare the human soul, in whatever part of the globe it may be, ever throbbing with the same moral emotions, struggling against the same foes, confessing a common weakness, crying for a common remedy, and also, let us hope, for a common Guru 'who can change the character.'

ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE, AND INDIA

BY

JOSEPH C. PANJIKARAN ESQ., M.A.[1]

It is generally admitted by historians, that from very early times there existed a community of Christians on the remote shores of Southern India. The question of their origin, however, seems to have occasioned a difference of opinion. Some authors assert that this community was planted here towards the latter half of the fourth century by a Syrian merchant, Thomas of Cana; others hold that Christianity was first preached in these parts in the fifth century by Nestorian Missionaries from Persia; while a third class of writers account for the origin of these Christians by the arrival in their midst of St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Chirst.

This last view seems to be the more probable one. Eusebius, for instance, the Father of Church History, speaks of Christians in India in 190 A.D. He says that, at their request, the philospher Pantænus was sent to India by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria. And Pantænus bears witness to the fact that he saw with these Christians a copy of the Gospel of St. Mathew.[2] We see, therefore, that we have to fall back on the view that it was the Apostle St. Thomas who founded this Church in India. This view is also supported by the ancient tradition of the Syrian Christians themselves. Moreover, the writings of the early

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1 A reprint of a chapter from his "The Syiran Church in Malabar," with kind permission.

2 Mgr. Duchesne: "The Churches separated from Rome," *p.* 194. London 1907.

Fathers and Doctors of the Church,[1] such as Abdias 190 A.D., Dorotheus 254, St. Ephrem 373, St. Jerome 420, and St. Gregory of Tours 593 A.D., are in harmony with the tradition. Further, a statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and quotations from the accounts and letters of travellers and missionaries, such as Marco Polo (1288), John of Monte Corvino (1305). Friar Odoric (1321), the Pope's legate Marignoli (1348), and St. Francis Xavier, and the works of historians such as the learned Joseph Asseman, and the Jesuit Fathers, Peter Jarri and Maffeus,[2] give us historical information in a line with the tradition of the preaching and martyrdom of St. Thomas in India. And lastly, Epigraphy[3] by means of the recently unearthed Takt-i-Bahai inscription near Peshawar, and Numismatics by means of numerous coins found in North-West India, have afforded strong evidence of the existence of an Indo-Parthian King Gondophares to whose court St. Thomas is said, in the *Act of Thomas*, to have come.

The proofs alluded to above may be found in any book on the Apostleship of St. Thomas in India.[4] I shall not, therefore, follow the beaten track, but shall make one or two observations on points generally overlooked by historians,— I mean, the ample local evidence and the customs and manners of the people who pride themselves on having been converted by the Apostle.

Of the seven churches said to have been founded by the Apostle in Malabar, six are still standing, while the seventh, Chayal, is in ruins. Of the two families, which, as tradition testifies, were raised to ecclesiastical dignity by St. Thomas, the one, Sankoorikel (corrupted from Sankarapurikel), still exists; while the other, Pakolomaṭṭam, seems to exist under the name of Palomaṭṭam. Besides, there are still a few famlies which claim, as the result of a special favour promised by

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1 Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. I, p. 171. London, 1835.

2 Historia Indiæ, lib. 2. p. 31. Venice, 1589.

3 Imperial Gazeteer of India, vol. II, pp. 5; 56. Oxford, 1907.

4 Dr. Medlycott, 'India and the Apostle Thomas,' London, 1905.

the Apostle, to have had priests without intermission from the time of the Apostle until the present day. Such priests call themselves the sixtieth or the sixty sixth from St. Thomas, according to the order of their succession from the Great Apostle. Lastly, for instance, I came across a very old manuscript history in Malayalam verse on the life and labours of St. Thomas in South India. Therein it was declared that it was the epitome of a very ancient and original work written by Thomas Maliekal, a Syrian priest, who was the third in succession from St. Thomas; and that the abridgment was made by another Thomas, the father of a priest of the same family who was the forty-eighth in descent from the Apostle.

An important place-name connected with the labours of the Saint is Chowghat. It figures in *Kerala Ulpathy* or the 'Origin of Kerala' as Palayūr. The common tradition of Malabar associates the change of name with a miracle.[1] It is commonly believed that several Nambudhiris embraced Christianity, and if we may rely on the tradition, which, as I shall show, is supported by outstanding facts, their temple was consecrated for Christian worship. A number of Nambudhiris who refused to change their religion, left the place.[2] They cursed the land, calling it *Chapukatt* (சாபக்காடு), "the cursed forest." The place has ever since retained the

1 The miracle is this: St. Thomas found several Nambudhiri Brahmins bathing in a tank. He saw them occasionally throwing up handfuls of water. He asked them whether they could throw up the water in such a way as to cause the water-drops to stand in mid-air without falling down. They expressed their inability, and promised to follow the religion of the foreigner if he performed such a supernatural feat. St. Thomas then worked the miracle.

2 I am informed that in the *Nâgara Grantha Variôla* of the family of the Kalathum Nambudhiri in British Malabar the following is written: 'Kali year 3153 [52 A.D.,] the foreigner Thomas Sanyasi came to our gramom, preached there, causing thereby pollution. We therefore, came away from that gramom [Palayûr]' This, I am told, was reported by a member of that family. I did not see the original, neither could I procure a copy of it. I hope some one will investigate how far this is true and whether the *variola* is authentic.

name, though it has been slightly modified into Chavakatt, and anglicised into Chowghat. This tradition concerning the name of Chowghat and the converion of the Nambudhiris gains confirmation from the following facts. First, strict and orthodox Nambudhiris still consider the place as cursed, and for that reason, they do not use even *pansupari* when they come there. Second, an appreciable Nambudhiri element is a noticeable feature in the ethnic affinities of the Syrian Christians of those parts. This is corroborated by Mr. Nagam Iyah,[1] who says: "There is no doubt as to the tradition that St. Thomas came to Malabar, and converted a few families of Nambudhiris. For, in consonance with this long-standing traditional belief in the minds of the people of the Apostle's mission and labours among high-caste Hindus, we have it before us to-day the fact that certain Syrian Christian women, particularly of a *Désam* called Kunnamkulam, wear clothes as Nambudhiri women do, move about screening themselves with huge umbrellas from the gaze of profane eyes, as those women do, and will not marry except perhaps in exceptional cases, and that only recently, but from among dignified families of similar aristocratic descent." And lastly, a number of Christian churches there, exhibit the peculiar architecture of Hindu pagodas. This fact was very puzzling to the Portuguese. We read in Rev. Hough,[2] for instance, that Father Vincent de Lagos "was displeased at the sight of the Christian churches so closely resembling the heathen pagodas." And Rev. Whitehouse[3] says that Father de Lagos "professed disgust at the peculiar architecture of their churches, comparing them to Hindu temples and commenced others in a style more to his European tastes."

The tradition that St. Thomas largely concerned himself with the conversion of Nambudhiris[4] and high-caste people,

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[1] Travancore State Manual, Vol. II, pp. 122—123. Trivandrum, 1906.
[2] Christianity in India, Vol. I. p. 246, London, 1839.
[3] Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, p. 26.
[4] Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 172.

finds further support in some of the customs that are still observed by the Syrian Christians, in spite of the merciless holocaust of a great number of such customs at the Synod of Diamper. Corresponding to the *Jâtakarmam* of the Nambudhiris, the father of every Syrian Christian child, thirty-six hours after its birth, mixes a little honey, ghee and gold and puts it into the mouth of the infant; six months later the father places the child on his lap and feeds it with rice for the first time. This corresponds to the *Annaprasanam* ceremony of the Nambudhiris. Again, the barbar is an indispensable person in all marriages. The *Pulakuli* ceremoney is invariably celeberated on the tenth and eleventh day after death. This is in strict accordance with the customs of the Nambudhiris, for other sects of Hindus celeberate this ceremony on the fifteenth and sixteenth day. Meat of every kind is rigidly forbidden for this feast, and the prohibition is very strictly obeyed, and some conservative families use neither meat nor fish till the year has fully run its course, and the *ärdu-sraddham* is performed.

Let us now pass from these observations on the resemblances in the customs of the Nambudhiris and the Syrian Christians, and turn our attention to some of the authorities who have written on St. Thomas, in order to see how the question stands at present. Catholic writers generally admit the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. Others hold two different opinions. Basnage was the first to deny the coming of St. Thomas into India. La Croze, Tillemont and Trigaut followed him in this opinion. Among modern historians, Rev. Hough stands pre-eminent, and has made an almost classical attempt to disprove the evidence for the tradition by giving a different location to places said to be in India, and by having recourse to conjectures to explain away difficulties standing in the way of his theory. Milne Rae, Mateer and Logan have largely drawn from the arguments of Hough without adding much original matter to his masterly exposition. Now, on the other side, foremost stands the valuable

opinion of Dr. Buchanan[1] who entertained a decided opinion that "we have as good authority that Apostle Thomas died in India as that Apostle Peter died at Rome." So dispassionate a scholar as Professor Wilson[2] speaks of the preaching and martyrdom of St. Thomas in India as occurrences very far from being invalidated by any argument yet adduced against the truth of the tradition. Rev. Whitehouse[3] says that St. Thomas was the Apostle of India, and requests writers not to summarily dismiss the tradition because one or two great names doubt its truth. Dr. Kerr, Bishop Heber, and Archdeacon Robinson attribute apostolic origin to the Syrian Church of Malabar. The simplicity and antiquity of the tradition force Colonel Yule, the translator of Marco Polo, to support the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. Dr. Neale, an expert in 'eccleciastical archaeology', draws evidence from the liturgy of the Syrian Church to prove its origin from St. Thomas. Rev. D'Orsey[4], after examining all Portuguese writings, is inclined to the view that the tradition which has always prevailed in Malabar denotes a real fact.

We shall conclude these remarks with an attempt to solve two difficulties that seem to stand in the way of the Apostolic origin of the Syrian Church of Malabar, *viz.* the meeting of the Apostle with King Gondophares and the place-name *Calamina* referred to as the scene of the martyrdom of the Saint.

It is now generally admitted that the Indo-Parthian king, Gondophares, who ruled over the extensive kingdoms of Afghanistan, Kandahar, Seistan, Northern and Southern Punjab, lived before 50 A.D. Professor Percy Gardner[5] says that some of the coins of Gondophares "would seem to

1 Christian Researches in Asia. p. 135, London, 1814.

2 Colonel Yule's 'Marco Polo,' p. 353. Note. 4. Vol. II. London, 1903.

3 Op. cit p 1

4 Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions, p. 62, London, 1893.

5 Medlycott, Op. cit. p. 7.

have been struck not later than the middle of the first century," and Mr. Vincent Smith[1] admits that "all indications of his date taken together show that he must have reigned in the first half of the first century." There seems to be no reason to doubt that St. Thomas started in 35 A.D., to preach the Gospel, as Eusebius says, to the Parthians, and thence to the Medes and Persians. He visited the countries to the north-west of India, and though we must be on our guard in pinning our belief to the events chronicled in the *Acts of Thomas*, there seems to be no difficulty in the concordance of dates, and no historical improbability in the statement that St. Thomas went to the court of the powerful king in whose territories he had preached the Gospel. He then retraced his steps, and according to Catholic tradition, which is supported by St. Gregory of Tours, 590 A.D., St. John of Damascus and others, he was present at the demise of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He may then have started on his second Apostolic tour. He seems to have taught the Gospel in Northern Africa, Ethiopia and Arabia Felix, and taken ship at the mouth for the Persian Gulf for Socotra. From Socotra, he may have proceeded in a coasting vessel to the west coast of India, and in 52 A.D., reached Cranganore (Kodungallur), the Mouziris of older geographers, and a flourishing sea-port of those days. In this way, the apparent contradiction between the tradition of the presence of the Apostle at the court of King Gondophares, and that the scene of his labours was in South India, may be easily explained.

As to other difficulty of the place of the martyrdom of the Apostle, historians have been at great pains to identify *Calamina* with the name of some town in India. They have left no map unsearched to find out Calamina, and have made many ingenious conjectures. W. W. Hunter locates Calamina, "probably in some country east of Persia, or in North India itself." Alexandar Counningham ventures to

1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Jan. 1903.

identify it with Minnagara. A Vongutschmid places it some where on the sea-coast of Gedrosia. Some others assert that it is the same as Kearmania. Even Dr. Medlycott[1], an authority on St. Thomas, makes an elaborate and very amusing attempt to derive Calamina, from " Kâlā, the name of a place, and Elmina, which in Syriac denotes a port." To the compiler[2] of the Cochin State Manual also Calamina has been a stumbling block. He says it cannot be identified with any town in South India, and for this reason, he pronounces the verdict of " not proven " on the Apostolic origin of this Church.

The explanation of the difficulty seems to me to be the following. The unanimous tradition of the Syrian Christians has always pointed out the Little Mount as the scene of the Apostle's martyrdom. They called it the " Chinna Malai " (சின்னமலை) which in English means "the Little Mount." Now, just as the Portuguese in later years translated the name into " Monte Pequeno ", so for the same reason, the early Syro-Chaldæan visitors and settlers called it Galmona from the Syro-Chaldæan word, *Galma*, a rocky hill, and '*ona*', a diminutive suffix like the English 'ock.' Galma, and ona, Galmona thus means hillock or " Little Mount." From this, the transition to *Calmina*, and *Calamina*, is easy. It seems to be in this way that the place of the Apostle's martyrdom came to be known as *Calamina*.

1 Op. cit. pp. 150-161.

2 Achyutha Menon, 'The Cochin State Manual,' p. 226, Cochin, 1911.

VIBHISHNAN BUDDHI[1]

By

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI ESQ., B.A., L.T.,

In the forest of Dandaka there lived many an Aryan rishi with his family, whose modes of life and worship were diametrically opposed to the free and easy life and devotion to Siva of the sylvan population. The Rakshasas, described as worse than cannibals, were Titanic in their physique and prowess who worked wonders and ranged in the primeval forest. South of the Vindhia mountains, the whole peninsula including Ceylon was the dominion of Ravana,[2] and

1 A reprint from the "Light of Truth" with kind permission.

2 [There is no evidence in the Ramayana to show that the whole of the peninsula south of Vindhyas belonged at any time to Ravana, the mighty, king of the Rakshasas. Mr. V. P. Subramania Mudaliar is, we think correct in his geographical distribution of South India, during the age of the Ramayana. (*Vide* T. Ant. Vol. I. No. 7, page 10). According to him, the country lying between the Vindhyas and the Nizam's dominions and bordered on the east and the west by the Ghauts, was divided into two vast tracts, the western portion being known as Janasthana and the eastern as Dandakaranya; this country belonged to Ravana and was governed for him by his sister, Surpanaka, with her cousins, Kara and Dhushna, as the prime-minister and the commander of an army of ten thousand men respectively. The hilly tracts round Mysore were ruled by the great Vali (Sansk. Bali) and were known as Kishkinda. And the plains east of Kishkinda were occupied by the original inhabitants under the government of their own chiefs; one of whom was the valiant Nilan, whose army was known, on account of its military daring and prowess, as *Karadipadai* (கரடிப்படை) "bear-like army." Jambuvan the commander-in-chief of this army was a well known character in the Ramayana, as he is said to have accompanied Hanuman to the south, in search of Sita. At this time, we find Agastia, at Coorg in the western ghauts, as the head of a Tamilian colony. The *Tamilagam* proper, "the home of Tamils," which lay to the south of Mysore and Tripathi, was, as Marco-Polo declared, the "finest and noblest" country of the Pandias and was the birth place of the Tamilian civilization which spread throughout the *Bharata Bhumi*. Besides it was a properous and independent power, having wealth and importance born of foreign commercial intercourse from 3,000 B.C. with the then civilized nations of Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt. The Tamil land extended, as recorded in ancient Tamil classics, to the south of the modern Cape Comorin far into Ceylon which then formed part of the mainland of India until the southernmost portion of the Cape and subsequent to the age of the Ramayana, submerged into the sea; and turned Ceylon into an island which it has ever since been. Editor T. Antiquary.]

while princes like Kara bore sway in the north midland Janasthanam, the eastern seaboard was occupied by the hardy and enterprising Dravidians, who, from their diminutive size and black or brown colour were poetically described as monkeys.[1] Evidently these nigger mannikins were paying homage to their overlord and writhed under his supremacy. True to the nature of subjugated humanity, these grumblers were looking for a time when they could shake off their subjection and assert their independence. The time arrived when Rama and Lakshmana, accompanied by Sita, marched into the forest of Dandaka in fulfilment of their paternal promise, and this auspicious advent was hailed by the aggressive Rishis, who could not brook the insults showered upon them by the curious dwellers and rangers in the woods. Rama, who had partaken of their simple fare and kindly

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1 [We are not, at this distant age, in a position to explain how the population of Kishkinda came to be termed "Monkey" by the Sanskrit poet. The Vanaras were neither a barbarous people as some scholars seem to think, nor ugly creatures deserving of human contempt. It is a well known fact that Tara, the consort of the ruling prince, was an accomplished lady, blessed with a graceful presence and a powerful tongue and that she commanded-respect even from foreigners. The subjects of the Great Vali were not "diminutive in size" nor nigger in colour; they were, perhaps, short, but brave, strong and well-built as the Ghurkhas, and not black in colour but red-faced and brown in complexion. Mr. P. V. Nanu Pillai, in his learned article, "The Ramayana-An Historical Study", (*Vide*, T. Ant. Vol. I No. 7) suggests that the Vanaras may have been the descendants of an Assyrian race of people who entered India at a very remote time and they were worshippers of Surya and lived purely on vegetables. They differed much in colour, custom and religion from the Rakshasas and there existed enmity between these two peoples, the one despising the other as monkeys or demons. Thus there was no inter-relation, inter-dining nor inter-mariage between these two peoples, though perhaps they belonged to a common stock. Unlike the Rakshasas, the Varanas were a peace-loving people and were proud of calling themselves "Celestials" even as the Chinese do. It is also recorded in the Post-Ramayana that the Vanaras were "Devas incarnated." The only explanation that can be offered on this much discussed point is that the Sanskrit *Kavi* has unfortunately mistranslated the term *vanar*, or *vanavar*. It is a Tamil word meaning "Celestials". and the adjectival form is obtained by adding *a* to it. Thus *Vanar* becomes *Vanara* in compounds. Compare the following words: vannar + pen = vannara(p)pen, "washerwoman"; Santar + Jati = Santara Jati, "Santar Caste"; Tamil + pillai = Tamila(p)pillai, "Tamil man"; accordingly *vanar* + *jati* should be *vanara* jati. The northern Pundit, ignoring the process of the Tamil word and wanting in his judgment, treated the people to whom the great Vali, the termor of Ravana, and the learned Hanuman, the admirer of Rama, belonged—a people, in fact, who had an organised government and who knew the arts of peace no less than of war,—as Monkeys, because his *Vanara* (Sanskrit) means "Monkey." Editor T. Ant.]

hospitality for ten long years, was prevailed upon by the Rishis to subdue or exterminate the Rakshasas, differing as they did from the former *toto cœlo*, and the champion of the meditative denizens of the Aranya took a vow to that effect. In this way he assumed an hostile attitude to the inhabitants of the peninsula, especially to the Rakshasa population, and it would be too much to expect of these latter in the way of kindness, courtesy or hospitality to these sojourners of Ayodhia. However clever they might be as toxophiles, Rama and Lakshmana could not overcome the subjects of Ravana by might or force. Discretion is the better part of valour and policy, sprung of discretion, was held up as the motto of the champion hero.

The first hostile person that the hero came across in the forest was Sūrpanaka, the widowed sister of Rāvana, the Ten-headed or the Terrible. Enamoured of Rama, this lusty woman, it is alleged importuned him against all female modesty to marry him and was mutilated for her carnal weakness, under the pretext that she attempted to lay violent hands on Sita, The mutilation was effected in cold blood, with the full knowledge that she was Ravana's sister, and it served as a challenge to Ravana for a combat. His feudatory princes met and fell. Sūrpanaka hastened to Lanka to tell her heroic brother the story of her misadventures. Flesh and blood could not bear the sight of the atrocious crime committed on the person of Sūrpanaka, and his righteous indignation was fired by the glowing account of the nonpareil among women, the wife of his implacable foe. The gauntlet was thrown and taken up, and the avengement must be had. Such was the attitude of Ravana.

As a shrewd man, Rama knew that the mutilation of Sūrpanaka would provoke a terrible war and, therefore, set about making alliance with the murmuring subjects of Rāvana. The ruler of the eastern seaboard was the mighty Vāli, Rāvana's dread. His brother Sugrîva had desired to usurp the throne of Kishkinda, and, to realise his ambition,

tried to shut him up in a huge cave whither he had gone on a daring enterprise. This treachery was punished by Vâli as it richly deserved, and the wife of his unnatural brother was appropriated by him. The sad plight of this perfidious brother, who was disburdened of his bag and baggage, struck the chord of sympathy in the heart of the divine Rama, who found a firm ally in him and crowned him king. Having secured the alliance of the hardy Dravidians, Râma thought that he could boldly enter the lists with Ravana and assembled the mighty monkey force on the coast under the generalship of Hanumân. The invasion of Lanka was imminent and it was rendered doubly so by the carrying away of Sita as a *tit* for *tat* for the injury done to Sūrpanaka. Sîta was lodged in the *asôka* forest in the island of Lanka, and Rama was bent upon recovering her at any cost. He aimed at killing two birds with a single stone. He would exterminate the Rakshasas, to keep his word with the Rishis, and recover Sīta traduced or seduced by Ravana. According to the ancient usages of war the invitation to the last argument of kings was the abduction of the enemy's sweet-heart, and, in the case of Ravana, the mutilation of Sūrpanaka served as the *motif* for it. Hanuman was sent as envoy to the court of Ravana and returned from the jaws of death without redeeming Sita. War must be waged—that was the pass to which things had converged.

In Lanka Ravana sat in conclave with his generals, ministers and brothers. While all of them condemned his illicit amour, most of them advised him to declare war and put the Aryan mortals to death. Vibishna, the youngest brother of Ravana, humbly remonstrated with his brother to give up Sita and thereby avert the impending catastrophe and gave his counsel in this strain: "Lanka was in flames on account of the fire of Sita's chasity; it was not a feat of Hanuman's. Rama was Vishnu himself. In this incarnation he had already killed Kara, Thūshana, and others and was an expert archer-conqueror of Vāli. Rāvana had no divine

blessing to conquer mortals, as witnessed in the wars of Kārta-Vîryārjuna and Vâli. Further he had a curse from the lips of Rishi's daughter Vêdavati, whom he had tried to seduce but who died leaping into the flames saying that a woman would be the cause of his ruin. That woman was Sita, Vêdavati once more in the flesh. To attain salvation Rama must be worshipped and Sita immediately rendered back to him."

Our object here is to see how far this counselling of Vibīshna was sincere or disinterested. But before we do so we should consider how this advice was taken and what followed it. Rāvana whose blood boiled at the bloody sight of his sister, could not pursue the peace-policy and told Vibīshna in an angry tone to get off from the conclave and to shut himself up in his own castle, were he such a great coward as not to accompany him to the scene of war.

He added that he had already smelt a rat in his dealings with Hanuman and that in his ambition to get to his throne he had secretly plotted with Rama. Vibishna, therefore, left Lanka with his four great ministers under cover of night and sought refuge with Rama. Rama hesitated over making a compact with him and held a council with Sugrîva, Hanumān and others. Sugrīva was against taking Vibishna into the fold, whereas Hanuman saw deeply into the matter and voted for Vibishna as an ideal of intelligence and righteousness. The arguments advanced by these two counsellors set forth the pros and cons in this case, and Hanuman's deep-sighted and shrewd argumentation prevailed with Rāma, who embraced Vibishna as a brother and whom he installed as King of the vast dominion of Rāvana.

Let us for a while scrutinise the action of Vibīshna. In the ancient classic of Rāmāyana and in the puranic lore of subsequent times Vibishna figures as a wise and learned man, pure in thought, word, and deed, and is included among the *Alwars*, fit for the worship of feeble mortals. Here it must be noted that both Ravana and Vibishna, descendants of

the *Bramic* Pulastya, were the sons of Vichrava and the Rakshasa woman Kaikêsi. Both were well-read in the Vêdas and Shāstras and had reaped divine blessings by their heroism and devotion. Ravana was remarkable for his *titanic* energy and austerity as a worshipper of Siva, whereas Vibīshna had a name for shrewdness of intellect and aimed at achieving by his sagacity what he could not by his might. Valour was the motto of Ravana, whereas policy dominated the counsel of Vibishna.

While the proud Rāvana and the valiant Kumbakarna, conspicuous for his *vis inertia* in ordinary circumstances, felt keenly the insult and injury to the love-lorn Sūrpanaka, Vibishna had no dram of mercy or compassion for her. In his jeremiad over the fall of Ravana he darkly hinted that Sūrpanaka had fed herself fat on the ancient grudge of Rāvana having killed her husband in the Kālakêyar war. Was this due to his natural callousness or thick skin, or was it caused by a deep sensibility on his part of the injustice done or attempted to be done to Sita, or was it an offspring of his machiavellian policy? In the words of Rāvana, Vibīshna had a deep design on his throne and his advice not to kill the enemy's envoy was construed as a first instalment of currying favour with Rama, while his daughter Tirisadai's attentions to Sita were viewed as a second instalment. However sound his advice and courteous her attention, Vibishna's running away to the enemy's camp, deserting his brother in the hour of his dire need, his telling Rama all about the wile and guile and stratagem of the Rākshasas—Rāvana, Indrajit and others, his supercilious contempt for Indrajit, the heir-apparent to the throne, for taking a part in the council, his ready acceptance of the crown of Lanka at the hands of Rama on the Indian coast while his heroic brother was up and doing in the island—these and incidents like these throw a deep shadow over the otherwise fair name of Vibīshna.

Had Vibishna thought that his brother was wrong in the abduction of Sita and wicked in her dolorous detention, had he a grievance that his sagely advice was thrown to the winds or brought a thunderbolt down on him, his legitimate office was to retire from his brother's side and have nothing to do with him. This would be what every man of common sense would do under the circumstances. Brotherly feeling and sisterly compassion weighed but a feather in the balance. Not only had he no feeling for his brother in distress and for his sister in the depths of her agony, but he passed over to the enemy's camp under cover of night. Did he do it to save his life? He was then a coward of the rankest type. Did he do it to save the lives of the poor Lankites? No, the Lankites' blood ran in torrents and their city was in ruins. Natural feeling ought to have dictated that he should lay down his life with his brother's or for the fair name of his deeply-smitten Sister. The feeling for humanity must have influenced him to speak to Rama and save the lives of his subject in conquering or capturing Ravana. There is no trace of it in either the epic or the *puranas*. Vibishna was influenced, neither by the tie of blood nor by the tie of common hnmanity.

Cauists might say that the highest code of morality demanded that injustice, by whomsoever done, must be punished without any scruple of kith and kin. So long as there is a speck of morality in us, feeling ought to overcome cold reason, and the low sun makes the colour. Divine perfection in this muddy vesture of our body is but all holy grail and a wild goose chase in practical politics. Was it *dharma* in any sense to accept the kingship at the hands of a foe to the country? Had he not been tempted by the ambition of a throne, would he have shamelessly or without a twinge of conscience accepted the offer of the crown as soon as he sought refuge in the hostile camp? When Vibishna related the story of Hiranya and Prahladha, the quick-witted Ravana denounced the ungrateful and unfilial action of

Prahladha in accepting favour from his father's destroyer and hinted that Vibishna too wished to feather his own nest, regardless of consanguinity or fraternity. Sugrīva too, when he voted against Vibishna, referred to it and distrusted his loyalty to Rama. Vibishna himself felt his dubious position when Rama was in despair at Lakshmana's defeat by Indrajit, and, to prove his allegiance to the throne beyond the shadow of a suspicion, explained to Rama how Indrajit had secured *nága pásam* and wherein his weakness lay.

Having already known from his own experience how the policy of "Divide and Conquer" was fruitful enough in the conquest of Kishkinda by Rama and what great help was derived from his alliance with the newly installed Sugriva, Hanuman hit upon a similar resource in the case of Vibishna, and told Rama that it was as god-send that Vibishna came over to him at the nick of time and that his alliance might be turned to the best advantage. So it proved in the long run. Dissension in the family leads to its break-up, and the little breach that was effected in the fort of Ravana's strength, by the desertion of Vibishna and by his inseparable alliance wiih Rama, led to the downfall of the empire of Ravana. When Lanka fell and Sita was recovered, and the triumphant Rama retraced his steps to Ayodhia with her, who rode (sat) with him on either side, but Sugriva and Vibishna—the vassals of his conquest, treacherous men who gained the throne at the cost of their brothers' blood, deep-dyed usurpers who preached *dharma*, charity and universal benevolence but wallowed in the mire of worldly ambition and sank in the Inferno of mundane happiness?